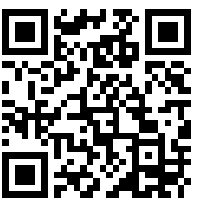
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

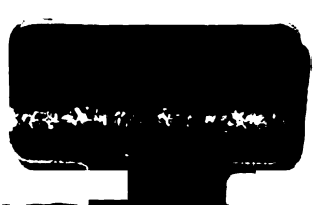
Google™ books

https://books.google.com



Digitized by Google

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY

VOL. LXIII.

THE NAVAL MISCELLANY

VOL. III.

Digitized by Google

THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY was established for the purpose of printing rare or unpublished works of naval interest, thereby rendering accessible the sources of our naval history, and assisting in the elucidation of questions of naval archæology, construction, administration, organisation and social life.

Any person wishing to become a Member of the Society is requested to apply to the Secretary (W. G. Perrin, Admiralty, S.W.), who will submit his name to the Council. The Annual Subscription is One Guinea, the payment of which entitles the Member to receive one copy of each work issued by the Society for that year.

Messrs. William Clowes & Sons, Ltd., of 94 Jermyn Street, London, S.W. 1, are the sole agents for the sale of publications to NON-MEMBERS. A list of the volumes available for sale to the public may be obtained from them.

MEMBERS requiring copies of any volume should apply to the Secretary.

Digitized by Google

The Naval Miscellany

EDITED BY

W. G. PERRIN.

VOL. III.

PRINTED FOR THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY
MDCCCCXXVIII

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE COUNCIL

OF THE

NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY

1927–1928

PATRON
THE KING

PRESIDENT
SIR FREDERIC G. KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B., F.B.A., D.LITT., LL.D.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

ATKINSON, C. T.
DARTMOUTH, THE EARL OF, P.C., K.C.B.
HOPE, ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE P. W., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.
TANNER, J. R., Litt.D.

COUNCILLORS

ANDERSON, R. C., F.S.A.
ASTON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE G., K.C.B., R.M.
BADDELEY, SIR VINCENT W., K.C.B.
BENTINCK, ADMIRAL SIR RUDOLF W., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.
BILES, SIR J. HARVARD, K.C.I.E., LL.D., D.Sc.
BRINDLEY, H. H., F.S.A.
BROCK, ADMIRAL SIR OSMOND DE B., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.
CALLENDER, PROFESSOR G. A. R., F.S.A.
DORLING, COMMANDER H. T., D.S.O., R.N.
EGERTON, CAPTAIN W. A., C.M.G., R.N.
JELLICOE, ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET, EARL, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., LL.D.
MURRAY, SIR OSWYN A. R., K.C.B.
PLUNKETT-ERNLE-ERLE-DRAX, REAR-ADMIRAL THE HON. R. A. R., C.B., D.S.O.
PUREY-CUST, ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT E., K.B.E., C.B.
RICHMOND, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT W., K.C.B.
ROBINSON, COMMANDER CHARLES N., R.N.
RODD, SIR RENNELL, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., M.P.
ROSE, PROFESSOR J. HOLLAND, LITT.D.
SMITH, VICE-ADMIRAL AUBREY C. H., C.B., M.V.O.
VANDERVELL, COMMANDER H., R.N.V.R.
WEBB, ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD, K.C.M.G., C.B.
WHITE, CAPTAIN JOHN BELL, C.B.E., R.N.R.
WILSON, H. W.

SECRETARY
W. G. PERRIN, Admiralty, S.W.

HON. TREASURER
SIR W. GRAHAM GREENE, K.C.B.

Digitized by Google

THE COUNCIL of the NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY wish it to be distinctly understood that they are not answerable for any opinions or observations that may appear in the Society's publications. For these the responsibility rests entirely with the Editors of the several works.

Digitized by Google

PREFACE

THE Society has to acknowledge with gratitude its indebtedness to the following owners for permission to reproduce the documents indicated against their names :

The Earl of Sandwich—The two letters of Blake ;
Lord Lamington—The Nelson Letters ;
Mrs. I. Plowman—The Letters of Benjamin Thompson ;
Mr. R. C. Anderson—The Journal of Naval Operations in 1666 ;

and to Mr. H. H. Brindley for compiling the account of the action between the Lyon and Elisabeth. Mr. Anderson has laid the Society under further obligation by editing his manuscript.

The contemporary copy of the account of the fight between the Brunswick and Vengeur was presented to the Society by Admiral Sir William Goodenough.

The Society has also to express its thanks to Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond and to Mr. G. E. Manwaring for editing the sections against which their names appear, and to Mr. D. Bonner Smith for the assistance he has given the Secretary in the selection and transcription of the remaining material.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE vii

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE LATTER PART OF THE YEAR 1666. EDITED BY R. C. ANDERSON

Introductory Note 3
Naval Operations 5

THE LAND FORCES OF FRANCE—JUNE 1738. EDITED BY VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT W. RICHMOND

Introductory Note 51
The Land Forces of France 55

THE ACTION BETWEEN H.M.S. LYON AND THE ELISABETH, JULY 1745. BY H. H. BRINDLEY . . . 85

THE CHANNEL FLEET IN 1779—LETTERS OF BENJAMIN THOMPSON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

Introductory Note 123
The Letters 127

THE ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN H.M.S. BRUNSWICK AND LE VENGEUR, 1ST JUNE 1794

Introductory Note 157
The Narrative 159

LETTERS OF LORD NELSON, 1804–5

Introductory Notes 173
The Letters 175

Digitized by Google

PAGE

THE SECOND CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1806

Introduction 193
Correspondence 205

THE SALUTE IN THE NARROW SEAS AND THE VIENNA CONFERENCE OF 1815

Introductory Note 289
Memorandum. 293

TWO LETTERS FROM BLAKE TO MOUNTAGU, 1656–7. EDITED BY G. E. MANWARING

Introductory Note 333
The Letters 335

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN COOK FOR HIS THREE VOYAGES

Introductory Note 341
The Instructions 343

THE BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN, 1807—JOURNAL OF SURGEON CHARLES CHAMBERS OF H.M. FIRESHIP PROMETHEUS

Introductory Note 367
Journal of Surgeon C. Chambers 369

INDEX 467

Digitized by Google

ILLUSTRATION

MAP OF TABLE BAY, SHOWING THE PLACE OF LANDING IN 1806 . . . . . *To face p.* 198

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE LATTER PART OF THE YEAR 1666

EDITED BY
R. C. ANDERSON

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE manuscript whose contents are printed here came into my possession in 1920. There is no trace of its history, save that it contains the book-plate of Sir Thomas Mostyn, fourth Baronet, with the date 1744. It seems at least possible that it may have been written by his grandfather, Sir Thomas, whose father, Sir Roger, had been a prominent Royalist. In any case it was certainly written by someone closely attached to Prince Rupert. The writer evidently accompanied the Generals when they shifted their flag from the *Royal Charles* to the *Royal James* and he shows himself far more interested in Rupert than in his joint-commander Albemarle. As a matter of fact, though Albemarle was on board the same ship for the greater part of the period described, he is never mentioned individually except on his leaving the fleet for London, whereas there are several mentions of orders given by Rupert alone, even when both Generals were on board. Probably the manuscript in its present form is a copy ; at least this is the simplest explanation of certain mistakes which occur. It is however written in a hand which appears to be contemporary.

On the whole this account gives a fuller description of the events of August and September 1666 than has yet been published. It is not always satisfactory ; for instance the information as to the direction of the wind is sometimes at variance with the course taken ; but its details with regard to the sending out of scouts, the taking of prizes and the reception of intelligence of the enemy's movements are very full.

R C. ANDERSON.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE LATTER PART OF THE YEAR 1666

The Daily Motion and Public Transactions of His Majesty's Fleet from their setting out of the Buoy in the Nore the 19th of July 1666 till their return thither the 3rd of October, under the conduct of His Highness Prince Rupert and His Grace the Duke of Albemarle.

On Thursday, July the 19th, about five of the clock in the morning the Fleet weighed anchor and about 11 of the clock the same day we discovered 11 sail of the Dutch upon our larboard quarter, riding in the Gunfleet. About 12 we came to anchor in the rear of the White Squadron. At five in the afternoon the Generals called a Council of War of the Flag Officers, which is done by hanging the Royal Standard in the mizzen shrouds.

On Friday, the 20th, it proved calm and the wind veered N.N.E. and kept us still, but that day the decks were cleared and the men settled in their several quarters and ammunition brought to each station and gun, the few cabins that were built since the late engagement broken down; our barricados were then fitted and all things made ready for a fight.

On Saturday, the 21, nothing remarkable.

Sunday, the 22, about 6 in the morning the fleet weighed again, but it proved calm and made

Digitized by Google

us come to anchor about 9. About 12 we weighed again, the wind blowing an easy gale, and about 2 of the clock from the topmast head we discovered part of the Dutch fleet then under sail, the wind with us being S.S.E. Then one of our ships mistaking her course, in danger to be on ground, which being perceived by the Generals two guns were fired to give her notice and to command her to sail in a line with the Admiral. About 4 from the topmast head we discovered the body of the Dutch fleet, being (as we supposed) 6 leagues from us. About 9 in the evening we came to anchor at the buoy in the Gunfleet. This morning we had advice by a ketch that the enemy were in number, small and great, 130 sail.

Monday, the twenty third, about 4 of the clock in the morning we weighed anchor again and by firing a gun (which the two days before we did not) gave advice to the whole fleet to follow. We still discerned the enemy to the head of us and about 7 of the clock we discerned their whole fleet perfectly, part on our starboard and part on our larboard bow. About 8 and 9 the wind favoured us two or three points and put us in exceeding good hopes to weather their whole fleet: but it veered again and the flood tide hindered us something. The enemy hauled close upon the wind, keeping the same course as we did. And now both fleets strive for the weather gage. The Dutch indeed had it and we wanting it strove to gain it. And although the wind and tide in the forenoon were both to our hindrance, yet most of our well built ships observed not to fall to leeward. One of our fireships, by chance, fell foul in tack upon one of our frigates and with her bowsprit [1] rent her mainsail, but the fireship fell

[1] MS. boult spritt.

Digitized by Google

off without any prejudice. About 12 of the clock the gale increased and one of our ships by bearing too close to the windward spent her fore topmast and another her main topmast. The Dutch all this afternoon bore up close to the windward, keeping the weather gage of us, and about 8 in the evening we partly lost sight of them, and then we came to anchor eastward of Alborough and a good distance from it at sea.[1] The General then ordered the Swallow and the Little Mary[2] to follow the Dutch fleet and observe their motion and to return the next morning. This evening the Westfriesland[3] had like to have received some damage by taking water in at her portholes; but being perceived was happily prevented, but not without prejudice to her powder. This night it lightened and thundered exceedingly and the Jersey frigate had her mainmast split by the lightning and being disabled was sent off to be repaired.

About 6 this morning we weighed anchor, the wind being at S.E., but after two hours sail we came to anchor again. At one of the clock that day we weighed, at which time the Little Mary came up to the fleet acquainting the Generals that at 5 in the morning she had left the Dutch fleet at the foot of the Galloper about 5 leagues distant from us, and that the Swallow weighed much about the same time that she did. At 4 this afternoon we perfectly descried the Dutch fleet

[1] 'At eight this night we anchored, Orford Ness being W. by N. 3½ leagues off, and the enemy 5 leagues S.E. by E. from us.' Clifford's letter from the Royal Charles (Colenbrander, 'Bescheiden uit vreemde Archieven omtrent de groote Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen,' vol. i. p. 428).

[2] Given in the Pepysian list as the Mary Prize, 14 guns, taken from the Spaniards in 1654. She was captured by the Dutch off Yarmouth in October.

[3] A Dutch prize of 1665, 54 guns.

Digitized by Google

upon our lee bow, whereat we all rejoiced we had so happily got the weather gage of them, and then bore upon them with all the sail we could. Near 9 this evening we came to anchor, the Dutch thus under our lee, being about 3 leagues or something more from us. Upon our coming to anchor his Highness ordered the Little Mary and the Rowe ketch to go and observe the enemy's motion, with directions that if they bare before the wind, then to fire two guns every watch to give notice thereof. About 10 of the clock this evening unhappily we lost one of our men, who being upon the ship's side drawing up of water his foot slipped and falling into the water perished ere he could be seen.

Wednesday, the 25, about two of the clock in the morning the Admiral fired a gun to weigh and as soon as day appeared we descried the enemy to our west on our lee side about 2 leagues and a half from us.[1] We made towards them upon the same course we did yesterday, our hindmost ships being yet some way behind us; but they perceiving the Admiral to make more sail they did so too. And the Rear Admiral of the Blue [2] came aboard the Generals and assured them he would lose no time to be up with his division. About 8 of the clock we could perfectly discern the Hollander to divide himself into 3 squadrons, the Van bearing up close to the windward, the rest making but a slack sail and as it were staying in expectation to be engaged. Our White Squadron [3] led the van, next the Generals' Squadron, and Sir

[1] 'At 2 this morning a fine gale at N.N.E. We weighed being then 11 leagues east from Orford Ness. At four we discovered the enemy 4 leagues S.E. by S. from us.' Clifford's letter.

[2] John Kempthorne in the Defiance.

[3] Commanded by Sir Thomas Allen in the Royal James.

Digitized by Google

Jeremiah Smith[1] with the Blue brought up and commanded the Rear Squadron. This was our order.

Sir Thomas Teddeman,[2] Vice Admiral of the White, was the first that was assaulted, the Dutch firing many guns at him ere he answered; but as soon as he conceived himself within a distance fit for execution he fired upon them and then most of that squadron engaged. By that time the rear of the White Squadron was engaged, the Red was also in the same manner, Sir Joseph Jordan,[3] our Vice Admiral, attacking that branch of the Dutch as was brought up by the Vice Admiral of their General's squadron.[4] Then our Admirals bore up and made towards the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter,[5] who now is the next in play and who, to speak ingenuously, edged with us.[6] He began to fire at us and fired many guns ere we fired at him. When we came within a minion shot of him, the Prince commanded to fire, which was obeyed by a whole broadside. De Ruyter was not behind with us, but returned it back, and then on both sides we continued firing without intermission for a good space, edging closer and closer, till at last we came within half a musket shot or rather more, at which time our small shot fired and so continued for half an hour or more. In this near firing and the thick smoke which it produced De Ruyter's fireship began to steal nearer and nearer, which being perceived was prevented of her design by ours, which was commanded then to attempt De Ruyter's. And the Fanfan lay under

[1] In the Loyal London.
[2] MS. Tyddyman. He was in the Royal Katherine.
[3] In the Royal Oak. [4] Johan de Liefde in the Ridderschap.
[5] In the Zeven Provincien.
[6] MS. the Dutch Admirals. De Ruyter who now is the next in play who, and to speak ingenuously edged with us.

Digitized by Google

our stern making very bold sallies upon the Seven Provinces by the continual firing of the two small guns she had. Thus near firing we continued for about 3 hours and a half and then De Ruyter began to stand away. His Highness then calling to the Triumph to board him and that he would second him, but the gale being very small the Triumph attempted it not, and so De Ruyter got the more respite. In this encounter it cannot be thought but we must lose some men. I think then we had not killed outright above 25 nor above 28 wounded, our greatest damage being in our sails and the rigging, which were torn exceedingly. And when De Ruyter stood away, we omitted no time to repair, and within half an hour afterwards a second, a very great ship, with whom for half an hour's time or more we were warmly engaged. But then the Sovereign, the Fairfax, the Lion and the Triumph undertook him and so disabled him that he was forced to anchor, his fore topmast brought by the board and his rigging exceedingly battered. He being thus disabled, a fireship of ours made sail towards him with an intent to have burnt him, which De Ruyter perceiving sent a fireship of his own, towing her with a longboat, crossed our fireship's hawse and so preserved his second ; but that fireship had not long continued there to his safeguard but the Sovereign sank her ; ours also was destroyed much about the same time. De Ruyter's second being thus lamed and himself not in a condition to come to his rescue, we were yet in hopes notwithstanding our first disappointment to have destroyed, but the calm was such and the tide against us, that neither of our ships could come time enough to his destruction, and so having stayed half an hour and more at anchor stopping of his leak and fitting of his

Digitized by Google

rigging cut his cable and stood away. The second being thus quit, De Ruyter stands in again, though but in a sickly condition, firing at a far greater distance than he did at first, which could not be otherwise interpreted but that he returned in order to secure the going off of Van Ghent, his second.[1] So within a quarter of an hour they stood right from us, but yet before De Ruyter got clear our Vice Admiral, Sir Joseph Jordan, exchanged him many broadsides. Our squadron having prevailed against this part of the enemy's fleet care was taken to pursue the enemy to a total defeat, yet they continued firing a good while after and it was near 7 of the clock in the evening ere they quite stood away, when many of our Red Squadron were gotten among the White, each doing their endeavour in order to the overthrow of the enemy. The White brought by the lee Vice Admiral Bankert's ship of 66 guns [2] and 400 men and boarded by the Admiral of the White, Sir Thomas Allen, who sent his Lieutenant aboard to take charge of the ship, Bankert himself having quitted her and run away in his boat, leaving his officers and men behind. The men were taken aboard and secured in other ships of the fleet and the ship by order of the Admirals was set on fire. The Warspite frigate brought by the lee another of the Dutch ships [3] which was also ordered to be burnt. In like manner the Blue Squadron were all this day hotly engaged with the Zeelander [4] and were the hardest set. And since the time of our

[1] Colonel Willem Joseph Van Gent, in the Gelderland.

[2] The Tholen, a ship of Zeeland.

[3] The Sneek, a ship of Friesland.

[4] This is wrong; the Zeeland squadron under Evertsen was in the Van. The Blue squadron was engaged with the Dutch Rear under Tromp, consisting chiefly of ships of Amsterdam.

Digitized by Google

first engaging till about six of the clock in the evening we saw them not; but when the height and extremity of firing was over with us, we discerned then a great part of that squadron very far to the leeward and the Flag with many of his division all in a smoke intermixed with the Dutch colours, which confused fighting could not well please; however were in hope they were not distressed, but rather that they had the advantage, and so we kept on our course sailing after the two Dutch squadrons which fled before us. We missed our Rear Admiral, Sir Robert Holmes,[1] whom we discerned far to the leeward of the Blue with his fore topmast down and as we might imagine very much disabled in his rigging; his own fireship was only with him. In the night he repaired and joined himself with the Blue Squadron on board the Admiral of the Blue to learn in what condition they were, which doubtless gave relations of the transactions of that day and how that unfortunately they had lost the Resolution. We kept chase of the Dutch all that night, but found ourselves next morning (being Thursday, the 26 of July) to the leeward of the Dutch fleet, the wind having in the night veered about; but as soon as day broke we bore up to them (our Blue Squadron with the Zeelander being out of sight) and fired our chase guns at them. They made sail before the wind and fired their stern chase at us, and thus we continued firing, we with our fore and they with their stern chase, they standing directly for their own shore, our frigates making what sail they could in that calm to overtake them. That day of the chase we received but one shot into our hull, and that unfortunately lighted in the gangway near the bulkhead as the Master's Mate was

[1] In the Henry.

Digitized by Google

going up the quarter deck, which broke his leg, of which wound he died. De Ruyter in the chase being forced with his mangled ship to bring up the rear and several of our frigates having spent many broadsides upon him and raked him afore and after, a fireship of ours called the Land of Promise [1] made all the sail she had upon him with an intent to lay him aboard. But De Ruyter being aware of the attempt had got 4 or 5 boats ready to his stern to defend him; however the fireship continued sailing and bore very near him. And he placing all his guns upon her to keep her off and the better to defend himself manned two longboats which forthwith made towards our fireship either to board her or to take away her boat, but by an unlucky shot from De Ruyter placed in the hull of the fireship her fireworks were set on fire within, which caused the men not without some danger to desert her and very narrowly escaped De Ruyter's boats which were now close at the stern of theirs, and so our men came safe away, leaving the fireship on fire against their will and before her time. The Dutch fleet having got far ahead of us we kept chase till 3 of the clock in the afternoon till we came within six fathom water, they standing into Flushing and we bearing away north west. We sailed all the next night and at the break of day the next morning, being Friday, the 24th, bearing north west we descried the Zeeland Squadron close upon our weather bow hauling close to the windward standing in for Flushing. We endeavoured to bear up and engage them, but they having the wind made chase otherways and so got in to the rest of the fleet, which we had pursued before. When we saw that we could not engage them, we kept on our former

[1] A Dutch prize of 1665.

Digitized by Google

course, and about 10 of the clock in the forenoon descried the Blue Squadron, which joined with us at twelve, they having the night before fallen to the leeward, by which means the Zeelanders had advantage to make away. About 2 of the clock we came to anchor and presently called a general Council and directions were then forthwith given that the ships disabled in fight should repair to the next English port to be refitted; and it was then thought fit that the Royal Charles, wherein the Admirals were, should also be sent to be refitted, having received very much damage in her masts and rigging and so not in a condition for another engagement; and that care should be taken without delay for bringing ashore the sick and wounded men, and that the body of the fleet should continue upon the coasts of Holland and make what haste they could over against the Texel, the fleet at this time being before Goeree.[1]

On Saturday, the 28th, the wounded men were set ashore.

Sunday, the 29th, all things were fitting in order to the Generals' remove from aboard the Royal Charles, the Royal James being preparing for their reception.

Monday, the 30th, the Generals left the Royal Charles and about three of the clock afternoon came aboard the Royal James, Sir Thomas Allen being removed to the Royal Sovereign, who is now made Admiral of the White, the Royal James carrying the Union Flag and riding chief Admiral. Captain Cox, who before commanded the Royal Sovereign, commanded aboard the Royal James to take charge of that ship under the Generals.

Tuesday, 31, were preparing to sail the next day.

[1] MS. Guree.

Digitized by Google

Wednesday, August 1st, the wounded men being now sent away and the disabled ships ordered to repair and the fleet having fitted themselves with what they could as to the damages received in the last fight, it was now thought convenient to sail hence and about six of the clock in the morning the Admiral fires a gun to weigh, the wind being at west and by north, and so sailed away from before Schouwen [1] and Goeree, the Dutch shore where the 3 days before the fleet continued their berth. The Fanfan being this night upon the ramble brought in this morning a Danish vessel laden with herring, salmon and other fish and the same day the Little Mary brought in two Dutch fisher-boats, the masters of whom related the death of Admiral Evertsen [2] in the late fight. One of them upon promise of liberty to both was sent to Holland for intelligence and the other kept aboard till his consort's return.

August the 2nd the fleet sailed all the morning, bearing for the Texel and the wind at N.N.E. This day one of the ketches belonging to the fleet took a small Frenchman homeward bound from Hamburg laden with pitch, tar and lead; the cargo was disposed of aboard the fleet, but the vessel being old and leaky and having lost her topmast was by order of the Generals burnt.

August the 3rd the wind at the same place and we bearing the same course. This morning we came in sight of Scheveningen [3] and the Hague and about noon the fisherman before mentioned returns from Holland bringing with him what he could from thence for satisfaction of the Generals

[1] MS. Shonen, a copyist's mistake for Shouen.

[2] Johan Evertsen, Lieutenant Admiral of Zeeland. He had commanded the Dutch Van in the Walcheren.

[3] MS. Schevling.

Digitized by Google

and relating what he had learnt of further intelligence, and that evening they were both permitted to return.

August the 4 the fleet weighed anchor having lain over against the Delft the night before, the wind being at N.N.E. In the afternoon about 6 in the evening, Sir William Jennings, the Captain of the Lion, brought aboard the Generals a French privateer which he had taken, who had fallen into the midst of the English fleet supposing them to be Flemings. He said he was bound for Dunkirk and had lain upon the Northern coasts of England. He had but one gun and 19 men with some muskets and firearms. This evening the Little Mary brought in a Dutch flyboat laden with salt and corn and stone bound from Rochelle to Rotterdam ; she was reputed to be about 160 tons and had 14 men.

August the 5th having kept sail all last night, the wind holding N.N.E., the fleet came to anchor about eight this morning, at which time the Bristol frigate sent in a fisherman laden with cod-fish who came from the Eastland fishing ; she had 4 men and one boy. The master related that the Dutch had reported at Hamburg that they had beaten the English and that their fleet had blocked up the river of Thames, so that it was impossible for the English fleet to come to sea, and in confidence such that their Eastland merchants had set sail homewards, and that 3 days ago there passed into the Texel above 70 sail of Eastland Traders having but one man of war to their convoy. About 10 of the clock this day the fleet weighed anchor again, the wind at N.N.E., and we standing upon the same course. This afternoon the Pembroke frigate returned to the fleet having been ordered to the windward to

Digitized by Google

cruise, giving the Generals an account how that he had chased ashore a Dutchman of 300 tons laden with wine and brandy, whom he had set on fire, it being impossible to get her off, the country flocking to the water side to rescue. This evening from the deck we could plainly discern the Dutch beacons on fire in Holland.

Sunday, August the 6th,[1] having sailed all this morning and the wind at N.N.E. and the fleet steering as before, they came to anchor this day at eight, and about 3 in the afternoon the Fanfan returned back to the fleet, being sent the night before upon the Dutch coast, relating that he had been ashore and wounded a man by a shot which they made to the shore and set fire to 203[2] fisher boats.

On Monday, 7th, we sailed with the tide of flood being now come as far northward as the Texel and the wind at N.W., and the Fanfan and the French shallop taken the other day by Sir William Jennings sunk 2 of the buoy or sea-mark leading to the Texel and weighed another which he carried with him.

On Tuesday, the 8th, the fleet weighed at 4 in the morning and about 5 descried two vessels to the windward which were supposed to be Dutch. The Pembroke frigate being headmost of the fleet gave them chase and about 12 of the clock the Generals sent their own boat to know whence they were, which presently returning acquainted the Generals that the Dragon frigate had boarded both of them and made them her prize and the men were run ashore in their boats and their lading was corn, flax, hemp and some wool, and

[1] From here till the next Sunday the days of the week are one day wrong. Sunday was really August 5th. Possibly this and the previous paragraph should refer to the same day, August 5th. [2] Probably a copyist's mistake for '2 or 3.'

Digitized by Google

they were reputed to be about 300 tons apiece. About 3 of the clock this morning a Council of War was called, consisting only of the Flag Officers, and in the evening the signal for the fifth-rate frigate to come to the Admiral was set up, and that day it was resolved that a party of 1100 men well armed should go and make an attempt upon the town of Vlie and island of Schelling. The men were to be drawn out of the several squadrons in the fleet; and about 7 of the clock in the evening the several captains of the respective divisions in the fleet sent their several numbers of seamen and soldiers aboard the ketches and galliot-hoy appointed for that service, to whom there was also joined 160 volunteers who were ordered to repair aboard the Tiger, being one of the frigates that were appointed to assist in the design. The seamen and soldiers were commanded by Sir Robert Holmes, the Rear Admiral of the Red Squadron, who commanded in chief in this service, and the volunteers were commanded by Sir Philip Howard, both whom were aboard the Tiger, which carried the Rear Admiral's flag. The captains that commanded the several companies were Sir William Jennings, Captain Silver, Captain Haddock, Captain Wilshire, Captain John Holmes, Captain Bellasis, Captain Guy, Capt. . . .[1]

The frigates that assisted in this expedition were the Hampshire, the Tiger, the Pembroke, the Dragon, the Sweepstakes and the . . .[1] with many ketches and longboats together with five fireships.

All things being thus readily fitted the frigates and vessels designed for the Vlie got this night ahead of the fleet and the wind being cross lay there at anchor.

On Wednesday, August the 10,[2] about five in the morning they weighed, the wind continuing

[1] Blank of 1 line in MS.

[2] *Sic* in MS.

Digitized by Google

against them, blowing at N.W., yet they plied it so far that they came that day within sight of the Vlie, but could not fetch it, but were forced to anchor within sight of it and not above 3 leagues from it, where they had notice of 4 flags in the port (by the Fanfan who was cruising thereabouts and was commanded back to assist in this attempt) but of what strength he could not learn.

On Thursday, August the 10, in the morning they appeared near Schelling shore; the people apprehending them to be enemies made away in boats as fast as they could towards Amsterdam. This place called Schelling lies directly in the mouth of the Vlie and you must necessarily pass near it or you go to the other, the buoy[s] which direct to the channel being near the shore. When they had thus approached the place about eleven of the clock the weather proved very clear, having been all the morning before thick and dark, so that now they could clearly discern every particular ship in the harbour, and counting them some reckoned 150, others 160, some more and some less. Then care was taken to set all things in order and readiness to carry on the present affair. All the longboats were presently manned with seamen and soldiers. The volunteers were appointed aboard the galliot-hoy taken but that morning upon that coast by one of the ketches. Sir Robert Holmes went aboard the Fanfan with some other officers and she bore his flag, the Tiger staying behind near the Schelling shore, the Hampshire and Sweepstakes riding further off at sea. When the men were thus disposed of, then without further delay they made into the port; the fireships going before, the Pembroke frigate to the leeward of them, and the Dragon frigate by keeping too far to the windward ran aground.

Digitized by Google

The Fanfan went before the longboats, the ketches sailed in some to windward, some to leeward and some before the Flag, sailing in thus and coming in within half a league of the shipping. There bore towards us two sail, one with a pendant on the maintop, the other with a flag there, firing at the fireships, which now were got within a pretty distance of them. They thus firing, a fireship commanded by Captain Browne, being headmost, had got near the chiefest of them and with the advantage of the wind laid him aboard and so fired him; soon after one other of the fireships had come very close to the other man of war and thinking to have grappled him set fire, but ere he had closed with the man of war the fireship was aground and so the flames reached him not. However the terror of the approach of the flame and the smoke of the other ship and fireship caused the men to quit the ship and betake themselves to their boat, and being gone out not far perceiving their ship free from the flame and thinking to recover her again made towards it with all the speed they could, but our fireship's men perceiving their boat and men were off, they also hasten to board her and now both boats strive to out-row the other for a man of war, but our boat being swiftest first made the ship and entering her got presently to the stern chase guns which they fired upon the Dutch boat and so kept it off with powder and a bullet into the bargain, and within a while after she was fired in good earnest. When the fleet riding there perceived that those men of war were taken and destroyed wherein consisted their safety, the men forsook their vessels and got away in their boats down the water towards Amsterdam followed by an infinite number of boats from the Vlie; the people

Digitized by Google

running away thence as fast as they could. The longboats were now commanded to bear up to the shipping and so fire as many as they could master without further delay, the which they did without any further direction, so that of a goodly number of shipping which were there proudly riding about one of the clock in the afternoon there remained nothing but so many consuming keels at 8 in the evening; save only one Guinea-man (some say a privateer) who continued firing at our boats and by that means kept them off and sheltered 1 sail [1] more than himself from the general destruction. The game of burning being ended here about 8 of the clock, care was taken to bring ourselves away thence, it being a very nice place to sail through and we having but one man of war in the place, the Pembroke by name, and she within a foot water of ground and the weather beginning to be unkind, a violent rain following attended with thunder and lightning. Order was given as soon as the flood tide came to sail thence with ketches, boats, vessels and hoyes to the rest of the men of war which were riding at Schelling, and those that were not on float to set on fire, Sir Robert Holmes sailing away before and all the rest following his light. We set on fire of our own a hoy taken from the Dutch and a fireship, and the wind serving we were up with the Tiger at Schelling by 12 of the clock that night, where we anchored, resting ourselves as well as we might and not without thoughts of the next day's business. Many of the ships that were consumed at the Vlie were richly laden, some homeward, some outward bound, some from Guinea, some from the Straits, some for Russia, some for Danzig and some from West India and other places.

[1] The figure is uncertain, but appears to be 1.

Digitized by Google

On Friday, the 11th of August, about 5 in the morning order was given to the ketches and hoys to weigh and to stand nearer the shore with directions for the men to be in readiness and the longboats to be fitted to receive them. And at 7 of the clock the several ketches and hoys were under sail with the longboats manned, ready to receive command for landing. About 8 directions were given to the several captains and officers to take care to land their men. Sir Robert Holmes approaching the shore in the Fanfan and Sir William Jennings being commanded with a shallop to go before to observe the fittest place for secure landing and to discover whether there were any enemy in ambush, as we were thus making close to the land one horseman appeared on shore, at whom the Fanfan fired one of her guns, the which so startled the horse that down came the rider (this the strict observer affirms he did see), but as we were within a stone's cast of the shore there was a shot made at us by a person that lay under the bank, at which we gave a great shout and the man in a great fear ran away, whereupon each boat strove to get the soonest ashore and within less than half an hour all the men were landed and drawn up ready to march. Thus safely landing in a fair sandy creek we marched towards the town in very good order, expecting every instant some kind of resistance, the place through which we marched being a sandy place full of banks and hillocks beside which men might have been securely placed and done us no little hurt, to prevent which as near as could be several persons were ordered to march a good distance from the body to discover anything of lying in wait. As we marched towards the town the persons that were appointed as scouts found a Dutch flag set on a

Digitized by Google

kind of sheep-fold which stood on the north side of the place where we marched and from thence the word was given to be used in fight if any happened. The seamen had taken the Dutch colours. When we came within sight of the town the body was divided in order to the secure entering that place, Sir Robert Holmes drawing on the south part of the town with 3 or 4 companies, Sir Philip Howard with the persons under his command marching directly to the east part of the town, having received commands to fire it. When we were entering the town there came out an old man about 80 years of age who craved for mercy, but being asked where the people of the town were, he answered they were dead of the sickness and run away. We marched through the town, the houses being all shut and the windows closed up, no inhabitants appearing, having the day before and that morning got thence. When the town was entered and no appearance of any resistance, the soldiers fell to plunder; but the town being fired to the windward they had not above an hour's space for it; the wind being pretty high increased the flames exceedingly. This town is situated in a very sandy place where nothing grows naturally but rushes, yet they had gardens where by their art and industry they made vines to bear; there were also some apple trees. The houses generally but of one story high but well contrived and very clean and sweetly kept and boarded before the doors. It had a new and pretty fair Town House and as nearly as I can imagine it consisted of about 800 or 1000 houses and one church. Springs they had not any as I could see; so that what water they have is from above, which when it falls they receive in vessels and preserve it in leaden cisterns placed in vaults

Digitized by Google

under ground, which I tasted of and found sweet, though not altogether so fresh and good as the spring water. Sir Robert Holmes all this while had not himself been in the town, but with 200 men or thereabout kept his guard less than half a quarter of a mile[1] southward of it. And when he perceived that the fire had mastered the town, gave orders for the drums to beat up to call away the men; the which they were very loath to do, so that he was forced to fire into the town to compel the men to return. We marched back to the water side as well as we could, missing many of our number, who were gone before to the sea side with burthens and were ready to go back again for more; but were disappointed of their purpose, the fire having left little or nothing behind. When we came to the water side the longboats were there ready to receive us and in less than an hour's time were all aboard and under sail bearing for the fleet which was about 8 leagues to the westward of us. Only a ketch was left behind with directions to take care to get aboard any stragglers of ours which peradventure by debauchery and carelessness might stay behind. The ketch remaining there till the latter end of flood tide and then weighing discovered 2 persons with burthens making towards the water side, to meet whom the boat was sent ashore; but ere they could get ashore these 2 were pursued by 6 others, who falling upon them killed the one of them and carried the other with them miserably wounded; but when these 6 saw the boat so near they fled away. The boat's crew not daring to adventure out of sight of their boat for fear of a surprise came back again to the ketch and made sail away for the fleet.

[1] *Sic* in MS.

Digitized by Google

On Saturday morning by 2 of the clock we were all up with the fleet, the wind at S.S.W.

On Sunday, the 12, the Cambridge frigate brought in a fisherman prize and the Lily another, laden with masts and hemp. In the morning we sailed till 9, the wind at N. and against us, we now bearing for Solebay, our victualls being near spent and the fleet wanting more fireships.

Monday, the 13th, the wind at S.W. and fair for us. This day in the afternoon the Assistance brought in two prizes, the one with corn, the other with iron, both Dutch.

Tuesday, the 14th, the wind veered to the S.E. We came to anchor by daybreak and so continued all this forenoon. The fog and mist with rain happening about two in the afternoon the wind came fair and we weighed and made good sail and by sunset discerned Dunwich steeple in Suffolk, and at 9 at night came to anchor again.

Wednesday, the 15th, we weighed about five in the morning, the wind proving a little more favourable and at W. and by S.; and by one of the clock in the afternoon came into Solebay over against the town, receiving the salutation of the shore in 15 guns there fired, which the Royal James answered with 3 only. And here we moored and news were brought to us that our victuallers were gone to find us out upon the coasts of Holland, our chief business being leading us to the English coast to find out them and to procure more fireships; for as without meat there is no living, so without fireships there is now no naval fighting.

Thursday, the 16th, the victuallers which were gone to the coasts of Holland after the fleet returned to Solebay where they found us, and with

Digitized by Google

them the Richmond and Martha, the Henrietta and 2 other frigates [*in margin*:—Note the Henrietta was left cruising on the Dutch coast] which had been repairing at Harwich and elsewhere, disabled the last fight, but with the news of the loss of the Breda frigate who bare them company there. The manner thus (as they relate it) that on the Tuesday at night before she with the other frigates being of the convoy to the victuallers and the wind at south west with them, they stood up bearing with the Dutch shore. She being the headmost ship and the best sailer carried the light and was well nigh a league from any of the other ships, and being not well acquainted with the place and careless of their lead struck (as it is thought); whereupon she fired a gun, which made the other ships bear away, knowing by that the Breda had struck; and soon after fired another, which confirmed them of the shallow and made them bear away the more; and soon after firing more guns gave them to conclude that she was fast. By this time it was daybreak and they so far to leeward that it was impossible for them to come in time to help her off; yet the Little Mary drawing less water stood with her; but long before she could come up with her there came about twenty smacks and hoys from the shore and took away her men prisoners and had cut down her masts and rigging, and she having often struck her hold was full of water so that she was made incapable of resisting an enemy, her powder-room being all drowned. The Mary finding her thus, her men went aboard her and cut the tackle of her guns and set fire to her to prevent the Dutch recovering her, and so sailed away. She had 200 men and fifty four guns mounted, if not more. And this day several persons of quality came

Digitized by Google

aboard the Charles [1] to compliment the Generals, among whom Sir John Rowe was one, who presented them with a leash of buck, the first deer they got this season.

Friday the 17th. This day the Chief Commanders [2] of the Navy came aboard to consult about the speedy fitting out of the fleet again to sea, and this day the Royal Charles came from the Swale, being repaired in her masts and rigging. There came also to the fleet in the afternoon the Patrick, a new 4th Rate built at Bristol, a goodly strong ship, and also the Colchester and the Mary all repaired and ready for service.

Saturday, the 18th, the Prince and General removed from the James unto the Royal Charles and that day several letters came aboard from London expressing the great joy at London for the success of their fleet.

Sunday, the 19th, the wind at N.N.W. and very high. At 7 in the evening a pendant was set on the mizzen peak for the captains of the Admirals' division to come aboard and this evening the Generals ordered several frigates to sea to cruise. The Crown frigate came this day to the fleet from the coast of Holland and brought with her two prizes, flyboats of great burthen.

Monday, the 20th. This day the men aboard of the Royal Charles were mustered, and the Assurance frigate came to the fleet with 2 prizes from the coasts of Holland.

Tuesday, the 21, nothing remarkable. Several gentlemen and ladies came from the shore to see the Generals and the fleet.

Wednesday, the 22nd, a Council of War was called, the fleet being near victualled and ready to

[1] This must be a mistake for James.

[2] Probably a copyist's mistake for Chief Commissioners.

Digitized by Google

sail, and this day a Dutchman was brought in prize laden with . . .[1] who related Tromp to be turned out of his commission and other passages in Holland.

Thursday, the 23rd, a pendant was set on the mizzen peak to call the captains of the Admirals' division aboard to learn in what forwardness they were to sail, all the flagships doing the same for their own divisions.

Friday, the 24, and Saturday, the 25th, nothing remarkable, but this day the Roe ketch was commanded upon the coasts of Holland to learn news of the Dutch fleet.

Sunday, the 26th, a Council of War was called, the Generals expecting every minute to hear of the Dutch fleet being out. This morning many small colliers passing by the fleet did relate that the greater ships of the colliers were about Yarmouth and that yesterday a French sloop had taken one of their company, and that the Fountain[2] and two other of our frigates had got up to the colliers by that time and had them in convoy. The fleet continued a day or two longer at Solebay for the colliers, several of the frigates wanting seamen whom they hoped to procure out of them.

Monday, the 27th, the Roe ketch returns from the coasts of Holland, who bring[s] intelligence that yesterday about 6 in the evening he discerned the Dutch coming out of the Wielings, being about 80 sail, and that 3 of them stood to the windward before the rest, and that all their fleet steered S.W., which gave cause to suspect that they intended through the Channel to join with the French, which we heard were come to Rochelle. And about one of the clock in the afternoon the Little Mary returns from the coasts of Holland

[1] Blank in MS.

[2] An Algerine prize of 1664, 34 guns.

Digitized by Google

and confirms what the Roe ketch had related in the morning, and withal said that he left the Dutch fleet 3 leagues or more off the Wielings, part of the fleet bearing eastward and part westward, and that several of them stood after him and gave him chase till he came in sight of our own fleet. This evening the Roe ketch was again ordered to sea to learn the Dutch fleet's motion; so was the Little Mary.

On Tuesday, the 28th, about 7 in the morning an Ostender passed the fleet and was commanded aboard the Generals, who told them that yesterday he had seen the Dutch fleet 3 leagues off Ostend standing in with the shore with the flood tide and to sea with the ebb, in number about 90 sail, small and great, and our men judged them to be about Blankenburg on the Flanders coast.

Wednesday morning, the 29th, about 7 of the clock the Little Mary returns to the fleet having discovered the Dutch fleet, about 80 sail of men of war, and 4 of whom chased him within three leagues of Solebay and had gained so much upon him that they had brought him within shot of them and had fired above 20 guns at him. Soon after the Generals command a gun to be fired to unmoor, the wind being with us at N.N.W., in order to sail and find out the enemy.

Thursday, the 30th. At 5 this morning the Admiral fired to weigh and about 7 of the clock the whole fleet was under sail, in number about 93 men of war and 10 fireships, besides ketches and other attendance. We had the wind at N. but unsettled, and it veering and proving calm we came to anchor again at 10 of the clock. This morning we discerned part of the colliers' fleet, about 50 in number, coming about Lowestoft[1]

[1] MS. Laystoff.

Digitized by Google

Head, of whom the captains of the fleet that wanted seamen took notice and provided to meet them with their boats, to impress what men they could out of them.

Friday, the last day of August. The fleet having continued at anchor all the last night and not having sailed above a league yesterday from Solebay, we set sail this morning about 7 of the clock, the wind at N.N.W., with a full intent to find out the enemy and fight them, whom we heard were off the coast of Flanders, having yesterday sent the Colchester frigate and the Little Mary to learn out the certainty where they were. About 12 of the clock this day 3 sail of men of war were discerned to the windward of us, which being concluded to be some of the Dutch scouts, the Generals ordered their ensign to be struck several times to give the fleet notice thereof, and made sign for the frigates to give them chase. The Jersey, the Antelope, the Swallow and the Ruby made after them. The Dutch scouts perceiving our fleet and themselves chased altered their course and stood with all the sail they could make towards their own fleet, which now we discerned from the topmast head about 4 leagues distant from us, in number (as we then computed them) 80 sail or thereabouts, standing N.E. And presently after the Roe ketch, who these 4 days had been out, comes to the Admiral and informs him that he left the whole Dutch fleet that morning, about 100 sail, at the foot of the Galloper. Whereupon the Generals presently ordered the flag of white and yellow to be hung upon the main yard, the signal for the fireships to come up, and at the same hung up the black flag in his mizzen shrouds, the signal for his own division to follow. About 2 of the clock we could plainly discern the whole Dutch

Digitized by Google

fleet from our deck; we had the wind then at E.N.E. and we hauled S.E. and so bare upon them with full sail full of hopes to have engaged them.

About 3 of the clock the wind increased, yet we continued our course, and contrary to all our imagination and to our great surprisal, the Dutch then under our lee and within 3 leagues of us, the Royal Charles struck, and upon our sounding we found ourselves at four fathom less water, whereat we were not a little concerned. Our ship thus striking his Highness commanded a gun to be fired to the leeward to give the rest of the fleet notice of those banks and shallows. We yet continued aground and were upon giving the signal for the ketches to come to us, but backing our sails our ship by good hap fell astern and so came afloat again; but yet not altogether free from the banks that were found there, which occasioned us to bear much to leeward. These banks proved some of those disastrous places called the Gabbart;[1] and this place where we struck was the ridge that stretcheth out to the S.E. of it. The Sovereign also brushed near this place, but struck not. About 5 of the clock we came to 18 and 20 fathom water, but spared sail, the night now drawing on and the wind increasing and the enemy bearing from us. We kept to windward as near as we could all this night, the wind violent, and some of our rearmost ships not able to bear up with us fell much to leeward and by chance came within shot of the Dutch fleet, with whom they exchanged several broadsides. But the Charles the Merchant, one of our 4th Rate frigates, having her foremast by the board by the violence of the weather fell in among the Dutch fleet and not being able to quit

[1] MS. Gaber.

Digitized by Google

her self they became masters of her;[1] yet we knew it not that night. About 2 of the clock next morning the Dutch tacked and stood westward and we still kept upon a wind, so that by break of day we could not discern them, but yet had thoughts which course they steered, and so made sail after them.

Saturday, the first of September, the wind blew at N.N.W. very violent and strong, so that we were not able to carry our topsails aloft and failing sight of the enemy we stood S.W., our fleet something scattered in the last night's and this morning's immoderate weather.

About 2 of the clock in the afternoon we had again sight of the enemy, whom we discerned standing right towards Calais, whereupon we hauled closer up on a wind and made upon them. Before we came under Calais we discerned a ship in their fleet on fire, which we took to be disabled by the bad weather and had so far fallen to the leeward that it could not bear up with them and to prevent recovery of her they had destroyed her. We spared sail about 4 of the clock, much about the time we were under Calais, staying for the body of our fleet to come up. The Dutch still driving before us and making all the shifts they could to get into St. John's Bay.[2] The weather was so tempestuous that it was impossible to fight them orderly. We designed to get between them and the French shore and so to drive them to seaward and in order to that made upon them. De Ruyter perceiving what our intents were gets

[1] De Jonge calls her the Loyal Charles and credits her with 56 guns. He says she had lost her bowsprit and foremast and was taken by the Vice Admirals of Amsterdam and of Zeeland, Sweers and Cornelis Evertsen (the younger).

[2] Rade de Saint Jean, S. of C. Gris Nez.

Digitized by Google

about his ship and tacks between us and the shore. Whereupon we endeavoured to tack upon him and to get to the weather of him; but the head seas were so great, and the tide so against us, that our ship would neither bear nor stay. Our topsails split twice in endeavouring to bring our ship about, and most of our great ships could not accomplish it. De Ruyter thus bearing to the weather of us, sign was made to the Rear Admiral of our squadron to endeavour to tack, which with much ado, considering the violence of the weather, he did, and so bore upon and got to the windward [of] De Ruyter, having hung his jack in the mizzen shrouds, the signal for his division to follow. De Ruyter seeing this stands upon another tack, but in his bearing split his topsail. By this time many of our ships had got about and some guns were fired; but the night drawing on, the shore so near, the weather so violent, and we having many good harbours of our own under our lee, it was thought the greatest prudence to stand to sea; so the Generals fired a gun to give notice to our fleet to stand off the shore and follow, and the red flag was taken in, it being impossible for us to do the enemy any damage, having work enough to keep our sails to the yards and our masts standing. We sailed all the night in a very great storm, bearing westward, leaving the Dutch to the storm, which was able to do them greater mischief than we could. We discerned one or two disabled ships amongst them before we left them. If this violent weather had not happened, a better account than yet was had in all probability would now have been given of the Dutch.

On Sunday, the 2nd of September, having lived in a very great storm all the last night we came this morning in sight of Beachy Head and

Digitized by Google

about 12 of the clock the Isle of Wight appeared, we standing for Portsmouth harbour, and about 6 of the clock in the evening we came to anchor at St. Helen's point. We wanted the St. Andrew, the Happy Return, the Vanguard, the George, the Charles the Merchant, the Marmaduke and most of our fireships and ketches.

Monday, the 3rd of September, a General Council of War was called, which is done by firing a gun and hanging the Union flag in the mizzen shrouds, and that day those of our ships that were disabled in their masts, sails or rigging or other supplies were ordered into Portsmouth to be fitted. This evening the Defiance unhappily fell foul of the Mary, by which means they were both disabled.

Tuesday, the 4th of September, his Highness went ashore to the Dock at Portsmouth to hasten the repair and refitting of the disabled ships that were the day before ordered in. This day we had the news of the great danger the St. Andrew and the Happy Return were in at Rye; that the Happy Return was recoverable, but the St. Andrew was in great danger, her back being broke, but her men, guns and stores were saved. And that the Vanguard having lost her bowsprit was safely got into the Swale, but of the Charles Merchant no news at all.

Wednesday, the 5th of September, we had the sad news of the fire at London.

Thursday, the 6th of September, the General left the Royal Charles in order to his journey to London, Sir Thomas Clarges being sent to call him to his charge there.

Friday, the 7 of September, a pendant was put upon the mizzen peak to call them of our division aboard, and his Highness went ashore to the Isle of Wight.

Digitized by Google

Saturday, the 8th, the men were mustered in the Royal Charles, and his Highness went ashore to the Isle of Wight for divertisment. And this day in the afternoon we received the certain unwelcome news of the loss of the Charles Merchant.

Sunday, the 9th, a pendant was put on the mizzen peak and the white flag on the mizzen shrouds. This day his Highness dined at Portsmouth attended there by the Earl of Mulgrave.

Monday, the 10th, a Hamburger came into the fleet from Rouen [1] and reported that the French fleet was come from Belle Isle.

Tuesday, the 11th, the Paradox frigate came to the fleet having taken a light Frenchman with four guns and 8 men. And this morning the Roe ketch was ordered to sea to cruise, we hearing it confirmed that the Dutch fleet rode still in St. John's Bay.

Wednesday, the 12th, the wind at W.S.W., very high, and this day the Deptford ketch came from Guernsey with an express that 30 French men of war had some days since set sail from Rochelle and were now at Belle Isle, and that there were 6 more at Brest.[2]

Thursday the 13th. Having continued all this while in St. Helen's and repairing what the last storm had prejudiced, and hearing that the French were in the Channel, about 6 in the morning the Admiral fired a gun to weigh with intent to bear close upon the French coast, and by 9 of the clock the whole fleet was under sail, the wind at due west and we bearing S.S.E.

Friday, the fourteenth, we sailed all day till 6 in the evening and then came to anchor over

[1] MS. Roan.

[2] MS. Bresse.

Digitized by Google

against the Ness,[1] having Lee-town[2] upon our lee quarter. This day the Mermaid, the Sussex, the Tiger and the Pembroke came to the fleet with intelligence that the Dutch had left the French shore on Saturday last and stood away for their own coast. This day as we sailed along about 9 of the clock the Katherine pleasure boat retook a Plymouth vessel taken 4 days ago by the Dutch. The Dutch therein said that 4 days ago they did see the French fleet off Ushant,[3] in number about 90 sail, but believes they had merchants in convoy to make up that number. In the afternoon a council of war consisting only of flag officers was called.

Saturday, the 15th, the wind at N.N.E. The captain of the East India Merchant comes aboard the Admiral and informs him that yesternight about 6 in the evening he discerned a great ship to the leeward of him about Beachy Head, which he supposed to be a French man of war, and a fireship with her; whereupon a council of war was called and a gun fired to give the fleet notice to weigh. About an hour after the fleet was under sail the Diamond frigate plying to windward let fly her topgallant sheets and fired a gun, the sign that he discerned the enemy. We all imagined upon this signal that we had all the French fleet before us. His Highness hereupon ordered his ensign to be put aboard to give the fleet notice of the appearance of the enemy and forthwith made all the sail we could, bearing S.S.E. About 12 of the clock the watch from the topmast head gave notice that he descried 8 sail of ships to the windward of us, whereupon a sign was made to the headmost frigates to give them chase. The frigates that pursued and got headmost were the Orange,

[1] Dungeness. [2] Lydd? [3] MS. Ussing.

Digitized by Google

the Jersey, the Antelope, the Fountain, the Diamond and the Swallow. They continued the chase from 12 at noon till very late. About 6 in the evening, being nightfall, two of the rearmost ships that were chased made to the French shore and ran themselves aground, the men escaping in their boats, setting their ships on fire before they went. The Diamond frigate for fear of the shallows could not approach them, but sent her longboat to discern what they were. One had 14 or 16 guns, the other 6, and conceived them to be merchantmen. One of them blew up about 7 of the clock, the other about 9, and gave such an extraordinary crack that they that were near (viz., the Diamond and others, the nearest part of the fleet) concluded her to be a vessel laden with ammunition. The other vessels had got so far to windward that our frigates could not reach them before night, and so were forced to give over the chase; but the Jersey gave it not over, but in the morning forced 2 of them ashore under St. Valrois,[1] one of whom fired herself, but the other stranded, so the Jersey stood away.

Sunday, the 16th, the wind at N.N.W. and we bearing W. and by S., having the night before lain by and spread the Channel in expectation of the French fleet, and many of our frigates lay very close to the French shore. We sailed all this day till 3 in the afternoon, at which time it proved calm and we lay by, as we did the night before.

On Monday, the 17th, the wind at N.W. and very high, we standing for the Ness. This day at 5 of the clock in the evening we had notice from the Sussex frigate that the French fleet was in the Channel being about 40 sail in number, and that

[1] Saint Valery.

Digitized by Google

he had seen them yesterday morning off the Isle of Wight and discovered their flag. Near this time we came to anchor at about 18 fathom water, the Ness bearing E. and by N. of us. his Highness taking care to send to the several Admirals of our fleet to give them to understand that the French were come so near and so far into the Channel. This night the wind blew exceedingly.

Tuesday, the 18th. We continued this day at anchor, the wind blowing very hard, forcing many of our ships adrift, and about 10 it raged so much that we could not longer trust to our cable, but were forced to cut it and firing 2 guns gave notice to the fleet and so sailed away for the Downs. Most of our squadron and of the Blue were constrained to do the like, they being not able to endure the so exceeding tempest that then happened; but as we stood for the Downs there sailed close by us a flyboat of a very considerable burthen which we thought was one of our own attenders, but when we bore into the Downs she was observed to incline towards the back of Goodwins. The Swallow ketch being to the leeward commands her and hails her. She very honestly answered that she was from Amsterdam and that her lading was wine and brandy, so she was made prize; she was esteemed to be about 400 tons and 11 or 13 men aboard. We came to anchor in the Downs about 4 of the clock, the Rear Admiral of our squadron together with the White and some other ships staying behind. His Highness forthwith upon our arrival at the Downs called a Council of War of the Flag Officers.

Wednesday, the 19th. About 2 of the clock this morning his Highness received an express from the Governor of Dover Castle despatched thence about 9 of the clock at night, wherein it was

Digitized by Google

signified that they discerned many broadsides fired at sea and could not otherwise imagine but that it was an engagement between some of our fleet and the enemy, French or Dutch. Whereupon his Highness forthwith commanded a gun to be fired to weigh and the signal of lights to be hung up to that purpose and by daybreak the whole fleet with his Highness at the Downs was under sail standing S.W. in order to find out Sir Thomas Allen, whom we thought with the rest of the fleet that were left behind might be concerned in the business of the last night. The Antelope frigate went before to understand where the Admiral of the White rode. We had not long been under sail but made Sir Thomas Allen's flag and most of his ships with him at anchor or lying by. By 10 of the clock we were up with him, but before that the captain of the Antelope brought a letter from Sir Thomas Allen to his Highness wherein he gave him an account that 8 ships of the French having made his flag yesternight bore up to him in confidence of their own Admiral, whom it seems they had not seen for 15 days together, being dispersed with the storm. And Sir Thomas riding with much about the same number of ships as should attend De Beaufort, their Admiral, they nothing doubted it was he, who they thought was upon his way to his rendezvous with the Dutch fleet at Dieppe or Calais, as was appointed them. But De la Roche coming so near, who commanded the Ruby of France, was so attacked by the ships with him that he was now made his prisoner. It seems as he bore up to Sir Thomas Allen's flag the Princess frigate exchanged many broadsides with him ; here the Monsieur first undeceived himself. Sir Thomas Allen seeing the Princess engaged and seeing them to be French that sailed upon him,

Digitized by Google

made the more speed to weigh his anchor to receive him. The Princess having left him the Adventure and the Foresight engaged him, with whom he fought for some time; from thence he comes up to Sir Thomas Allen, his anchor being now apeak, and sailing very close poured in a broadside upon Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas received him with 2 tiers and having got his anchor aboard tacks upon him, the Assistance and the Foresight in the mean time firing with him. De la Roche seeing Sir Thomas to the weather of him and ready to pour in upon him and thinking the Assistance frigate to be a fireship, she lying so upon his bow, his men called out to know if there was any that understood their language they would render the ship upon fair quarter, for their Captain was going to blow her up. The captain of the Foresight in this parley boards her and so made her his prize. Sir Thomas Allen claimed her as his prize for that she struck not to the Foresight but to him, but it being so that the men of the Foresight first got aboard the custom is that the prize is theirs. His Highness, when he heard that De la Roche was taken, pleasantly replied that he was a very brave man, he knew him well. That he had rather heard that all the French fleet had been taken than he, but since that he was his enemy he was glad that he had him in his custody. That he had engaged with him at Portugal against Robert Blake proffering him to attempt to board the ship wherein Blake himself did then ride. But he knew him to commit the same mistake as he did now, there, mistaking Blake's flag for his till he came so near that Blake hailed him asking from whence his ship.[1] He answered from France. Blake asked

[1] This incident is mentioned in Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, vol. iii. p. 304, and elsewhere.

Digitized by Google

his lading. De la Roche replies 600 men, and engaged with his Highness in that business at Lisbon against Blake, where he demeaned himself very honourably, upon no other respect than out of a particular duty to his Highness. About 12 of the clock Sir Thomas Allen brings De la Roche aboard in his own boat as a prisoner, whom his Highness received with a great deal of civility and courtesy and so during his stay in the fleet showed very great kindness. The ship called the Ruby had 54 guns, all but 14 brass; she had 440 men, her lower tier demi-cannon, and may be well made to bear 60 odd guns. There was another French ship called the Bourbon which came next to the Ruby to our ships, but stood away with the other 7 chased by our frigates all that night and the next morning, but without success. His Highness understanding the utmost of the last night's skirmish it was thought fit that the fleet should sail in that place of the Ness where the day before we had cut our cables, in order to find them; but when we came there the night was upon us, and so we continued sailing all that night steering towards Portsmouth.

Thursday, the 20th, the wind at N.N.E. Having sailed all the last night as before is mentioned we came this day about 4 of the clock in the evening near the Isle of Wight, where we anchored; and upon our arrival there his Highness called a Council of War of the Flag officers only. As yet the Rear of the fleet was not come up.

Friday, the 21st, we weighed about 5 in the morning with an intent to stand to sea, being advised of 14 sail which were come from the westward and bearing eastward. A council was called about 8, but the weather proving thick and foul we bore into St. Helen's road where we

Digitized by Google

anchored, the wind being very unsettled but inclining to the S.S.E. About 12 the merchants from the Straits came unto the fleet, being 30 in number, the same ships that were discerned in the morning and supposed to be enemies.

Saturday, the 22nd, at 8 in the morning the whole fleet was under sail, the wind at S.W. and we bearing homewards, it being resolved that our greatest ships could not well be now kept at sea, the season being far spent, storms great and frequent, the night dark and long, our provision near exhausted, our masts not such as the time of the year did require. The French having withdrawn to Brest and having no certainty of the body of the Dutch fleet and our fleet by the last storm being very much impoverished in cables, we left St. Helen's road for this year, the Sovereign, the Slothany [1] and other ships, which were thought might run a greater hazard if we met with another storm, in Portsmouth harbour. And so we continued our course to the Buoy in the Nore, but that day we had not sailed an hour and a half but we came to anchor again, the weather proving thick and foul.

Sunday, the 23, the wind at S.W. The General fired a gun to weigh and at 8 of the clock the whole fleet followed, we bearing S.E. and the weather fair. About 10 of the clock, as we sailed, the Orange [2] frigate brought in a Frenchman prize, laden with salt, 130 tons and 12 men, bound for Dieppe. He reported he came under De Beaufort's convoy to Portland, but was dispersed with the storm and that he heard since that he was gone back to Brest having received a letter from De Ruyter thanking him for his forwardness in

[1] A Dutch prize of 1665, 60 guns.
[2] A Dutch prize of 1665, 32 guns.

Digitized by Google

order to a conjunction, which he hoped there would be no occasion to fight the English this year.

This the Frenchmen report for their honour's sake, but the truth is when the French King sent to De Beaufort to come to the Channel he then did not know that the English were come westward; but when he was informed of that he sent to find out De Beaufort to command him back again for his safety. This De Beaufort received early and so made back again to Brest, but De la Roche being separated from him heard it not, which made him sail so near to Calais.

Monday, the 24th. We sailed all last night with an easy sail, the wind at S.W. and we bearing East as before and so continued the same sail all this day, the weather fair and gentle. Several of our frigates were ordered to bear close to the French shore to find out whether there were any of the French straggled and kept near that coast.

Tuesday, the 25. Continuing an easy sail all Monday night, the wind at W. and by N., by 9 of the clock we were over against Dover, at which time the Roe ketch came to the fleet giving notice that the Dutch fleet lay upon the coasts of Flanders, and at that time the Antelope frigate being ahead of the fleet giving chase to a small sail that stood for the coast of France let fly her topgallant sheets and firing a gun, the signal that he descried the enemy, the General took notice of it and forthwith commanded his ensign to be lowered and hauled up several times and a gun to be fired to give notice to the whole fleet that the enemy was in sight. About one of the clock the watch from the topmast head discovered the enemy, in number about 80 sail, all under our lee and bearing N.W. The wind at this time began

Digitized by Google

to blow exceedingly, but we bore upon them and were drawing in a line in order to engage them, but the wind more and more raging and the banks of Flanders dangerous to approach, the night hastening on and like to be storms as indeed it proved, it was thought fit to desist further attempting to fight the Dutch and to provide to secure ourselves against the violence of the weather which was more dreadful than the appearance of the Dutch. About 5 of the clock the whole fleet came to anchor, the North Foreland bearing S.W. of us and about 6 leagues from us, at 21 fathom water, the weather very tempestuous and stormy, having lost sight of the Dutch fleet, who made all the sail they could for their own coast.[1]

Wednesday, the 26. The last night riding in a very violent storm, the wind at W. and continuing so till about 4 in the evening, at which time it began to clear up and the wind a little to allay. We continued the same berth this night, the wind proving very violent.

Thursday, the 27th. The wind at S.W. and the storm rather increased than fallen, we continued in the same place, securing ourselves to ride out of the violence of the weather as well as we could having spliced our greatest stock of cables; yet the fleet generally rode out the storm very well, only the Amity frigate was constrained to leave her cables behind, but came safe to Harwich; so did 2 or 3 of the ketches and the Fanfan was forced to betake herself to her heels, but came safe to Harwich.

Friday, the 28th, the wind allayed and about

[1] De Ruyter had gone home sick on Sept. 23rd and Lieutenant Admiral Van Nes had taken his place in the Zeven Provincien. Pensionary De Witt had also been on board that ship since the 19th as representative of the States General.

Digitized by Google

eleven of the clock a gun was fired to weigh. At this time the Orange and Success frigates came to the fleet carrying with them many of the men that were aboard the ships left at Portsmouth. About 5 of the clock the fleet were all under sail and sailing 3 leagues or thereabout came to anchor again some two leagues from Long Sands head.

Saturday, the 29th, the wind veered to the N.W. and about 3 of the clock the Admiral fired a gun and weighed, and we sailed with our larboard tacks aboard, endeavouring this night to fetch the Long Sands head and there anchor, the wind being against us, but yet gentle and therefore the fleet more bold, thought to tide it into the Nore. By 7 of the clock, being dark, we fetched the Long Sands head where the Admiral lay anchored, firing 2 guns to give the whole fleet notice of his stay, each Admiral of every squadron doing the like, the Vice and Rear Admirals firing but one gun apiece.

Sunday, the 30th of September, the wind at S.E., the weather calm. At 6 of the clock a gun fired to weigh. We sailed all this morning till about 11 of the clock, at which time we came to anchor within 3 leagues of the Buoy in the Gunfleet. In the afternoon a Council of War was called and soon after we weighed again and kept under sail till 7 at night, at which time the fleet came to anchor within the Gunfleet, observing the same method as they did the night before, Sir Robert Holmes being sent to Court to give an account of the condition and arrival of the fleet.

Monday morning, the 1st of October, the fleet was under sail about 6 of the clock and continued so till 11, at which time we came to anchor a little short of the Middle Grounds, the wind at S.E. and against us, the fleet having but very narrow room

Digitized by Google

to work in, the shoals and sands being on both sides.

Tuesday, the 2nd of October, the fleet was under sail at 7 of the clock, the wind at S.S.W. and we standing in for the Buoy in the Nore till about 12 of the clock, at which time the fleet came to anchor at Shoe-beacon. The Rainbow running aground her guns were lighted in the afternoon and the night tide fell out happily with calm weather and so she was brought off, his Highness himself going in person to take care for her safety.

Wednesday, the 3rd of October, the wind at S.W., the fleet weighing about 7 in the morning from Shoe-beacon and plyed all this afternoon for the Buoy in the Nore, where at 2 of the clock in the afternoon they arrived. The French ship lately taken from De la Roche being come there over the flats from the Downs some 3 hours before, aboard which his Highness went about 4 of the clock and at his coming thence several of her guns were fired. His Highness gave her the commendation of a very serviceable ship. So thus the whole English fleet under the conduct of his Highness arrived safely in port, being in number . . .[1] The men free from any contagion or raging distemper, thanks be to God. The merchants from the Straits being come there also.

Thursday, October the 4th, one of our frigates returned from Flanders and brought word that the Dutch fleet was gone into harbour and that in the late storm 3 of their ships were run aground upon their own coasts, and that a great French ship had like to have been cast away under Dunkirk and it was questionable whether she could be recovered.[2]

[1] Blank in MS.

[2] Possibly the Ville de Rouen, which eventually reached Middelburg in Zeeland.

Digitized by Google

Friday, the 5th of October, his Highness left the Royal Charles, being commanded by his Majesty for London, and about 10 in the evening arrived at the Court at Whitehall, where he no doubt was welcome and where we leave him.

FINIS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE LAND FORCES OF FRANCE—JUNE 1738

EDITED BY
VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT W. RICHMOND

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE following paper is printed from an unsigned memorandum among the Miscellaneous State Papers (vol. 200) in the Record Office. There is nothing to show by whom it was written or to whom submitted. At the time at which it was written—June 1738—the relations between the United Kingdom and Spain had become so strained that preparations for war were already being made. A reinforcement of five ships for the West Indies had been ordered in the preceding January with instructions to protect British trade and the settlement of Georgia, and to observe and report all movements of Spanish and French ships. The squadron in those seas was being further strengthened by transferring the vessels stationed on the West Coast of Africa to Jamaica. Finally, a squadron of nine ships of the line had been ordered to the Mediterranean, where, in accordance with custom, only a small frigate squadron had been maintained in peace.

The manner in which this country should wage war was a subject on which there were two schools of thought at the end of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century. The one advocated war on land with continental alliances: the other, war at and over sea, without alliances. The latter school believed economic pressure to be the weapon that this Maritime Power could most effectively use. It was argued that if France or Spain were cut off from their West Indian and American markets the losses those countries would suffer would be so far-reaching that they would be unable to continue fighting from sheer want of money. The view had been developed during the wars of William III and Anne by several writers, of whom the most prominent is

Digitized by Google

Swift, whose "Conduct of the Allies," written in 1711, produced a profound impression. While the present memorandum does not approach that of Swift in its treatment of the subject, it furnishes an insight into the thought of the period. The additional expenses to which each of the prospective enemy powers would be put in war are compared with the resources available: and the conclusion drawn by the writer is that it is quite impossible for France or Spain to support a war with England, in whose power it lay to cut off so considerable a part of the revenues of both countries. The arguments against alliance are similar to those used by Swift at the earlier and Mauduit at the later time.

It will be seen that the conclusions as to how this country should make war are largely, though not wholly, based upon statistics of the costs of the French and Spanish forces, the sources and yields of taxes, and the estimated tonnage and seamen of France, Spain and England. The correctness of the opinion that the form of war recommended would be successful depends, therefore, in no small measure upon the correctness of these statistics; and of that there is much reason for doubt. So far as those relating to British seamen and shipping are concerned it is not possible to reconcile them with those compiled by Chalmers at the end of the eighteenth century;[1] and, indeed, even the lower figure of 50,000 ships and 300,000 seamen is impossible. Chalmers gives the *total tonnage cleared* in 1735 as 476,941 tons (p. 112), and, basing his calculations upon an estimate of twelve men per 200 tons, a probable number of seamen employed as 26,616. Elsewhere he gives the average tonnage of individual ships in the port of London as 112 tons, in foreign ports 78 tons, and of foreign ships, 98 tons. Taking, therefore, a broad average of 100 tons for the shipping this would give approximately 4700 ships as against the 50,000 of the writer. As to seamen, Chalmers' estimate of 12 men per 200 tons agrees, on a basis of the average size of the ship of 100 tons, with that of the writer.

[1] G. Chalmers, *An Estimate of Comparative Strength of Great Britain, etc.*, 3rd edit., London, 1804.

Digitized by Google

Chalmers' figures are for clearances, and therefore do not include unemployed shipping. How much there was unemployed it is not possible to say, but the year 1728 being, in his words, one of unexampled prosperity, there would not be enough to bridge the wide gap between the estimates. His figures for seamen, however, do not in any case represent the whole sea-faring population, as they do not include boatmen, nor, presumably, fishermen employed on inshore fishing. That the available seamen were more numerous than the 26 thousand odd given is obvious, for the complements of the fleet alone in that war amounted to over 60,000 men, and the trade continued, employing another 25,000 at least. It would seem therefore probable that the figure of the seafaring population was not far short of 100,000, even though a fourth part of the complements were landsmen.[1] It is within the bounds of possibility that this discrepancy between the writer's figures and those of Chalmers might be reconciled by the supposition that the copyist added an o to the figures. The omission of the final o puts the two estimates approximately in agreement: though they leave another unexplained difference—why the British ships are supposed to have crews of 6 men per ship and the French of 35.

It is less however as a statement of statistical fact than as an expression of an opinion upon a form of war that the paper possesses interest. These inaccuracies—if inaccuracies they were—while they detract from the value of the paper as advice and guidance to the Ministry of the day in their conduct of the war, do not deprive it of its value as an expression of opinion and a record of a manner in which a subject of great national importance received treatment. The fact that the memorandum was preserved in the State Papers suggests that it was not looked upon as worthless. Indeed, as a reiteration of the views of Swift and the earlier writers, it is one of those footnotes to history which assist towards an understanding of English strategy of the eighteenth century. It fur-

[1] The fleet, when it paid off in 1763, was reduced from 85,000 to 16,000 men.

Digitized by Google

nishes an example of the application of that doctrine of war which affected it up to the time of the younger Pitt; and gives an idea of the reasoning, strategical and statistical, which was employed to support it. It is in lineal descent from that theory of British war which is expounded in the Libel of British Policy of 1436, and had found practical expression in the works of Monson and the acts of the Government of the Commonwealth.

H. W. R.

Digitized by Google

THE LAND FORCES OF FRANCE— JUNE 1738

The French have now in pay about 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, Regular troops, besides 60,000 Militia which in time of war they incorporate into their Regular Forces.

The Infantry are reformed since the last war from 70 to 35 men a company. Every Battalion at the end of the war was of 13 companies but are now reduced to ten, so that in the time of the war a battalion consisted of 910 men, whereas now a battalion makes only 350 men.

Their horse and dragoons are in time of war 3 troops to a squadron, and 3 squadrons to a regiment. Each troop of 70 men, which makes 630 men to a regiment, but the regiments are now reduced to two squadrons of three troops, each 25 men only to a troop, whereof 15 have horses and 10 are on foot, so that each regiment consists now only of 150 men, viz. 90 with horses and 60 without. In case of a war, the Government give commissions to gentlemen who are willing to raise companys and troops they want to complete. The regiments at their own expense at the end of a war are broke and generally ruined. The other companies and troops are brought up to their full complements out of the Militia by 10 or 20 at a time as the Militia can recruit themselves from their parishes.

The Militia have only clothes in time of peace ;

Digitized by Google

in time of war they are paid the same with the regular troops.

The pay of the French land forces. Every foot soldier in France is paid according to the advance money he receives at his entrance, and according to the number of years he engages to serve; viz. he that takes 10 French pistoles or 100 French livres to serve three years has only 2 sols in money and 2 sols in bread a day for 3 years; he that takes 50 livres to serve 3 years has 3 sols in money and 2 sols in bread. He that takes only 24 livres to serve 3 years has 4 sols in money and 2 sols in bread.

In time of war they are all obliged to serve to the end of the war, only the first class have one sol per day added to their pay, and the same addition is given to every foot soldier when he is drafted to be a grenadier. Therefore to compute the pay of the foot, they take it in the gross, and reckon that every foot soldier costs the King 6 sols a day, the non-commissioned officers included, as each company has a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign, and likewise a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign reformed, together with their field officers, which are double also, they compute the pay of the officers of each regiment to amount to as much as that of the private men.

N.B.—The reformed officers of each regiment (excepting the field officers) always march in the ranks with arms as the private men and fight as they do in the field, but not at sieges. So that 100,000 foot at 6 sols each per day comes to 30,000 livres per day. Their officers make 60,000 livres per day which amounts to 21,900,000 livres per annum, which is the annual expense of the foot in time of peace.

Digitized by Google

THE HORSE

As the agreements with the horse and dragoons at their entering are in the same manner as with the foot, the French themselves likewise compute their pay in the gross, viz. each man and his horse at 15 sols per day, including the non-commissioned officers, and the horse being also double officered as well as the foot, the pay of the officers is likewise reckoned to amount to as much as that of the private men; so that 20,000 horse and dragoons at 15 sols each per day comes to 15,000 livres per day and 15,000 extra more per day for their officers, making 30,000 livres per day which amounts to 10,950,000 livres per annum which is their annual expense of horse and dragoons in time of peace.

	Livres per ann.
The pay of 100,000 foot is . .	21,900,000
,, ,, 20,000 horse and dragoons is	10,950,000
Yearly pay of both is . .	32,850,000

THE CHARGE OF CLOTHING, BARRACKS, GARRISONS, & ARTILLERY, &c.

In France they reckon that the clothing of the army (the officers being clothed by the King as well as the private men), the charge for the barracks for the soldiers, the keeping in repair their numerous garrisons, artillery, etc., amounts to no less than 30,000,000 French livres per annum.

It is to be observed that during the last war when those Corps were at their full complement the French army consisted of 220,000 regular

Digitized by Google

foot, 60,000 horse and dragoons and 80,000 militia; so that the pay of this additional 120,000 foot without officers comes to 13,140,000 livres per annum; of the additional 40,000 horse and dragoons to 10,950,000 livres per annum; and of the 80,000 militia (receiving now pay both officers and soldiers at 12 sols per day, each officer included) is 17,520,000 livres per annum.

THE ADDITIONAL EXPENSE IN TIME OF WAR

120,000 foot . .	13,140,000	livres per ann.
70,000 horse and dragoons . .	10,950,000	,, ,, ,,
80,000 militia . .	17,520,000	,, ,, ,,
Total .	41,610,000	,, ,, ,,

N.B.—The reduced officers have only 400 livres a year to a Captain and so in proportion to the rest.

THEIR SHIPS OF WAR

The maritime force of France is:

Ships of the line for service . . .	25
Frigates which may be fitted for service in 8 or 10 months	18
In all . . .	43
Old ships some of which may be fitted for service with time and expense (*sic*) in case of need	12

THEIR ARSENALS

Their arsenals at Toulon, Brest, La Rochelle, St. Malo and Havre de Grace are at present so

Digitized by Google

poorly furnished with stores that in case of a sea war with England they would have great difficulty to fit out the above ships, as they have neither masts, yards, pitch, tar, cordage, etc., but what they have from the English plantations in America, or at a much dearer rate from the Baltic from whence they have all their iron.

THEIR SEAMEN

All the sailors for the King's service are classed but at present do not amount to above 11,000 men. In France there are not above 800 sail of Merchant ships of all sizes at the most, and reckoning 35 men to each ship one with another the whole seamen of France are not above 28 or 30 thousand men, the above 11,000 classed seamen included, who have leave to serve on board the Merchant ships until they are wanted for the King's service, having pay from the King only while they are in actual service on board the men of war and then but 14 livres per month.

At Marseilles there are 16 galleys with 500 slaves and 30 sailors and 50 foot soldiers armed to each galley, which makes to the whole 8000 slaves, 480 sailors, and 800 soldiers. In all 9,280 men.

THE CHARGE OF THE FRENCH NAVY

They must have 20,000 sailors to man the above 43 men-o-war, which at 40 livres per month each man comes to 800,000 livres per month, and 9,600,000 livres per annum. In France they reckon that the rigging and the repairs to their ships comes to as much as the pay of their sailors which makes 9,600,000 livres more.

Digitized by Google

The sea officers who are also double, besides a great number of supernumerary officers, amount likewise to at least as much as their sailors, which makes 9,600,000 livres more, which in all amounts to 28,800,000 French livres per annum.

The 16 galleys at Marseilles cost yearly to the King about 3,000,000 livres.

THE REVENUE OF FRANCE

Their revenue consists chiefly of the Taxes called La Taille, La Capitation, and the duties upon salt and tobacco.

LA TAILLE

La Taille is a tax upon all lands and houses, every province being taxed at a certain sum which the intendants lay upon their respective provinces, viz. so much upon the produce of the lands of every division, and the rest upon the walled towns whose proportions are levied by their own magistrates by a duty upon the houses and upon all manner of provisions that enter their town. This Taille amounts to about 24 millions French per annum.

LA CAPITATION

La Capitation, which is in the nature of our poll tax, is raised at the discretion of the several intendants of the provinces upon each family and amounts to about 18 millions French per annum.

LE SEL ET LE TABAC

The farmers generally furnish salt and tobacco to the whole Kingdom for which they pay to the King about 30 millions French per annum.

Digitized by Google

LE DUCHÉ DE LORAINE

The Duchy of Loraine is now farmed out at 20 millions French per annum so that the whole yearly revenue of France is as follows:—

	millions French.
La Taille	24
La Capitation	18
Le Sel et le Tabac . . .	30
Le Duché de Loraine . . .	20
In all . . .	92

which is £4,181,818 sterling annually.

LE DIXIÈME OU LA DIME
THE FREE GIFT OF THE CLERGY

In time of war they raise one tenth upon all places of profit which is called "La Dime" and which amounts to 16 million French yearly, as also a free gift of the Clergy in their greatest necessity which amounts to 20 millions French yearly more. These two extraordinary taxes together make about 36 million French yearly which is £1,636,363 sterling per annum. But it must be observed that in the case of a war with England the subjects of France cannot pay above half this sum yearly for the reason that the sale of their wines, brandies, cambrics, and other merchandise the growth of France will be entirely at a stop, and likewise their West India as well as their Levant trade and their Newfoundland Fishery will be very much obstructed, if not quite at a stop also. Neither can the public borrow one shilling of the subject as there is neither

Digitized by Google

company nor private persons in all France in a condition to lend.

It is likewise to be observed that at present the charge of King Stanislaus' Court in Loraine amounts to near the whole yearly revenue of that dukedom, and also that the greatest part of the nobility and general officers of France receiving large annual pensions and gratifications over and above their pay and other employments, a very large sum is employed yearly out of the revenues upon this head.

N.B.—The officers in France employed by the intendants &c. for the collection of the above taxes are above four times the number of those in England for the same purposes, and all paid out of the revenue. So that the whole revenue of France even in case of war with England cannot amount to more than £5,818,181 sterling of which after the first year the subjects will not be able to pay above one half, whereas the expenses of France in time of war is as follows :—

	Livres per ann.
For 100,000 foot	21,900,000
20,000 horse & dragoons .	10,950,000
120,000 additional foot . .	13,140,000
40,000 additional horse and dragoons . .	10,950,000
80,000 militia . . .	17,520,000
Clothes, barracks, garrisons, artillery, etc. . . .	30,000,000
,, the Land forces . . .	104,460,000
,, ,, Sea service . . .	31,800,000
Total Annual expense in time of War	136,260,000

which is £6,193,636 sterling per annum.

Digitized by Google

By this state it appears that the great strength of France is by land.

In case of a sea war with England, supposing the French were not attacked by any other Power by land, they will have no need for the additional land forces; so that in that case their whole expense by land will only amount to 62,850,000 French livres per annum. But then they will be obliged to augment their fleet to what it was in the last war, viz. 120 men of war and 40 galleys which will more than treble the sea expenses computed above. 31,800,000 livres per annum multiplied by 3 amounts to 95,400,000 livres to which add 62,850,000 livres for the land forces. TOTAL: 158,250,000 French livres per annum will at least be their expenses in case of a sea war only with England which is £7,193,181-18-9 sterling per annum.

At the beginning of the last war France had about 300,000 land forces, 120 men-o-war, and 40 galleys well manned and fitted out, but at that time they had the revenues of Spain, Naples, Sicily, the Milanese and Flanders, and a large treasure every year from the West Indies to pay this great expense. Their arsenals were at that time well furnished with all manner of stores for the fleet for seven years, whereas they have now none of those countries to help them, no treasure from the West Indies, nor not so much as stores to fit out their 43 men-o-war.

It is to be observed that with all these helps, they were so necessitated for money, before the war had been carried on 3 years that they were obliged to begin to raise money by selling their civil employments and borrowing money on the Corporations in all the provinces of France; which two articles before the end of the war

Digitized by Google

amounted to above 60 millions sterling which are not repaid to this day.

THE FORCE OF SPAIN

The Spaniards have about 70,000 land forces, horse and foot. Their pay is about one fourth more than the French. They have four garrisons to keep in repair in old Spain.

They have about 36 large men of war and 12 galleys.

They have neither masts, yards, pitch, tar, cordage, spoak nor trunnell except what they have from the English plantations in America, or at a much dearer rate from the Baltic from whence they have all their iron ; so that in case of a war with England they will have great difficulty to fit out the ships they have and can never build any more.

They have not sailors to half-man the above ships, and those they have are most English and other foreigners, and their sea officers are very bad.

As to their revenue, it depends mostly upon their yearly treasure from the West Indies, which will be rendered very inconsiderable, if not totally lost, by a war with England.

It is difficult to compute what number of land forces they have in the West Indies, but it is pretty well known that they have at this time in the Island of Cuba, Hispaniola, Port St. Augustine and the other small ports in that neighbourhood, about 10,000 men, the greatest part foot, and about as many more dispersed over the continent of America, particularly in New Spain to keep the neighbouring Indians in awe (who are very

Digitized by Google

numerous but without arms) and likewise their negroes.

The garrison of Port St. Augustine and their other small forts on that side cannot subsist without being supplied with all sorts of provisions from the English plantations, not daring to stir out of their garrisons to get provisions in the inland country for fear of neighbouring Indians who would overpower them if they were supplied with arms and who hate the Spaniards mortally. The inhabitants of Cuba are so indolent that although they have 7 negroes to each white man they are obliged to buy from the English above half their provisions they consume, as the Spaniards do also in divers parts of New Spain.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ENGLISH CARRY ON THE CONTRABAND TRADE ON THE COAST OF NEW SPAIN

The ships that carry these provisions to the Spaniards either go to Jamaica for a freight home, or down to the Bays of Mexico, Honduras, Campeachy, etc. to carry on the contraband trade with the Spaniards for piastres for such part of their cargoes as they have not sold at St. Augustine or Cuba, or to get Logwood which last they generally meet with as they beat about the coast of New Spain. Being there are a great number of English sailors who go by threes and fours in a company in a Piragua from Jamaica to the small creeks on the continent of New Spain where they get into different parts of the wood and cut up as much logwood as will load a ship. Then they put out signs in the night to give notice to such English ships as come that way in search of logwood, who answer them with other signals,

Digitized by Google

upon which the sailors from the woods go on board and conduct them to the place where they can load their ships, and after they have agreed with the Captains for a certain share for themselves of the profit of the logwood when sold in Europe, they all assist in loading the ship and take their passage in her back to Jamaica, from whence these ships always take their departure as if they loaded there; and if taken by the Spaniards who wait for them in the gulf between Cuba and St. Augustine here as well as to the Spaniards, set forth that they received their logwood for piastres at Jamaica in the same manner as the ships that really do take in logwood and piastres there.

THE REASONS THE SPANIARDS GIVE FOR SEARCHING THE ENGLISH SHIPS

The Spaniards very naturally allege as logwood and piastres are the produce of New Spain, and as the people of Jamaica have no other way to get them but by a contraband trade, that they have the same right to stop them coming from Jamaica as if they came directly from New Spain, without touching at Jamaica, since the English have no right to any trade with New Spain, except what comes by the annual South Sea ship, which they know very well brings all the merchandise directly to[1] England and never sells any at Jamaica.

The Spaniards likewise very justly observe that if they were to let all English ships pass on pretence of coming from Jamaica, they would lose half their annual treasure that comes from New Spain, which every reasonable man must certainly admit to be true. Because if the English

[1] *From?*

Digitized by Google

were suffered to pass that way uninterrupted they would draw away the best half of the Spaniards treasure by the contraband trade in spite of all that could be done by the Spanish Officers on shore ; as they can sell to the inhabitants all such commodities as they want above 100% cheaper than they can have them by the officers to ship by reason that the people of our plantations get such part of those commodities as they want from England, better than the growth of their own country, and are at no charge of keeping factors abroad or paying salaries at home as the South Sea Company do. This is the true reason for the present dispute which the Court of Spain has with us, and which they set on foot as soon as they understood the nature of our trade in the West Indies.

THE REASONS WHY THE ENGLISH CANNOT SUFFER THEIR SHIPS TO BE SEARCHED BY THE SPANIARDS IN THE WEST INDIES

On the other hand, the present case is such that if the English suffer those ships to be visited or taken they may as well give up all the English plantations to the Spaniards as they have no other way of getting one shilling of ready money for their commodities but by that sort of trade to the coast of New Spain ; which plainly appears from their having not one penny of gold or silver but Spanish money in their country, and is all the trade they have to England and all the rest of the world.

Besides, New Spain does not furnish them with the tenth part of their subsistence, so that this affair is brought to this dilemma—that Spain must either be content to give up half of their

Digitized by Google

yearly treasure from the West Indies at once, or that the English must give up their plantations and entirely lose their whole West India trade. Therefore it is clear that this dispute can never be determined but by a war, by which means the strongest will have an opportunity of making such conquests as are necessary for securing his trade from being disturbed for ages to come, and of augmenting the same, and the nature of this dispute appears to be such as will never bear being settled by Treaty.

REASONS FOR A WAR AGAINST SPAIN

As the Spaniards by entering into this dispute have sought a war themselves with the English, it is thought that we should take this opportunity to secure our West India trade, the nature of which is now so well understood by Spain, especially considering the following reasons whereby we cannot doubt of success in a sea war, even although France should take part in their quarrel, and that we should engage in this war upon our own bottom without any allies.

BECAUSE ENGLAND IS AT PRESENT IN A MUCH BETTER CONDITION THAN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST WAR IN 1702, and FRANCE IN A MUCH WORSE, THAN THEY WERE IN AT THAT TIME

It may be remembered that the last war between France and the Allies was carried on upon the sole strength of England, although we were then in a very weak condition after King William's wars, our land forces in a sad condition as well as the fleet having no proportion of ships

Digitized by Google

or seamen to what we have now. Ireland and Scotland discontented, our plantations in America but poorly inhabited and not in a condition to do anything for themselves, the French King with a numerous fleet in our seas, and above 30 men-of-war in the West Indies, possessed of vast dominions, his coffers filled with money, his arsenals with stores, and his powerful armies attacking all his neighbours.

Whereas now, we have above double the number of ships that both France and Spain have together and sailors at will to man them, which will appear from the number of merchant ships at present belonging to England, Scotland, Ireland, and our plantations which by a moderate computation amounts to above 50,000 so that reckoning six men only to each ship there are 300,000 sailors one fourth part of which will more than suffice.

N.B.—By the general computation collected from all the ports of these Kingdoms and the plantations, it is found that we have above 100,000 sail of merchant ships great and small, which admitting one with another they carrying only six men, makes 600,000 sailors, so that we compute them about only at one half.

BECAUSE OUR PLANTATIONS ARE BOTH ABLE AND WILLING TO FIT OUT 50 LARGE SHIPS OF FORCE and to RAISE LAND FORCES SUFFICIENT to TAKE CUBA, HISPANIOLA, and PORTO RICO

Our plantations in America are at present so well peopled, and have such number of ships and sailors, that they are both able and willing to put out 40 or 50 large ships of force at their own expense to carry on the war against the Spaniards in America. They are likewise so well provided

Digitized by Google

with all sorts of provisions that they can furnish our fleets at a very reasonable rate with all necessaries.

They are in a condition likewise to raise as many land forces as would be necessary to make descents where the Government should think fit to attack the Spanish Settlements.

Whereas the Spaniards have no force in the West Indies but what may be entirely destroyed the first year by our men-o-war who need stay but one year there, and leave the rest to our plantations to do.

GALLEYS TO BE PROVIDED BY THE PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA

By New England	6
Rhode Island	2
New York	6
Pennsylvania	3
Maryland	3
Virginia	6
N. Carolina	3
Jamaica	4
St. Christophers	2
Antigua	2
Montserrat	1
Nevis	1
S. Carolina	3
In all	46

(*sic*)

If the plantations furnish 40 galleys 500 men each built in the nature of the French or Spanish galleys and their men exercised to arms as our foot are, they can easily make themselves masters of Port St. Augustine and the small forts near it, and afterwards they will have no difficulty to

Digitized by Google

take Cuba, Hispaniola and Porto Rico which will give us the key of the whole trade of New Spain that nothing can go in nor out without our leave.

They will be able likewise to ravage the whole coast of New Spain, but this last we shall have no occasion to do because the people of New Spain are so tired of the grievous oppressions of Old Spain, and so sensible of the great benefit they would reap by a direct trade with our plantations, that so soon as they find themselves at liberty they will choose their own Governor, drive out all the Old Spaniards, and declare for us.

20 GALLEYS with 500 MEN to each added to GUARD SHIPS on our coasts would EFFECTUALLY SECURE ENGLAND against FRENCH INVASIONS

And our plantations will do all this at a less charge than they were at in furnishing ships in the last war, and they will be very well satisfied with what plunder they get for their labour. One galley thus manned with such brave people as the Americans are will beat five French or Spanish galleys of equal numbers of men because their galleys are manned with slaves, who are kept chained to their oars without arms, and but 50 fighting men on board of each galley, the West Indian Seas being like that of our Mediterranean Sea. Those sort of vessels are most proper for that service, many examples of which we have from the Grecians and Romans who in all their conquests in the Mediterranean used galleys of this kind exercising their men to arms, who rowed or fought as occasion required, and could land at will. Our men of war being thus at leisure to watch the motions of the French as occasion

Digitized by Google

required and Spaniards at home, our people in America can meet with little or no opposition since it will be difficult for the enemy to find means to send succours to their friends in the West Indies when our fleets are masters of the seas at home. And our Fleet being at home will likewise preserve us from any descents upon England.

So that let their land forces be ever so numerous or superior to ours we have nothing to apprehend from them except in the Narrow Sea between Dover and Calais where they may slip over in calms, but this likewise may be easily prevented by building 20 such galleys in the River Thames manned with 500 water men each exercised at arms as above.

By this method the land forces which are at present on foot will be sufficient to protect this Kingdom against all manner of invasions and attempts whatsoever.

The building, rigging, and completely equipping one of these galleys will not cost above £300 sterling, and the men must be put upon the same footing as our marines were at the time of the last war.

If we have Spain only to deal with we need not fear any descent from them, so that in that case there will be no occasion for this last expense of these galleys at home.

The traject from Spain to England is so wide and so rough a sea, that the Spaniards can make no use of their small vessels upon any such expedition. And as our men-of-war will always be able to meet with and master their large ships, no expedition against England can hope for success under 30 or 40 thousand regular troops which must have 500 ships at least to transport them. In all expeditions of this kind, troops that cross

Digitized by Google

the sea are liable to sickness and so many accidents that they are not worth half their number at their landing, even in the Mediterranean where they have a smooth sea and a bold shore to land; which is quite a different case upon our coast, the sea having always a great swell, and the shore generally flat where boats cannot land men but with great difficulty, and where consequently great numbers must be lost in landing. Therefore 5,000 good troops ashore, assisted by the Militia of the country, will always be able to defeat an armament of 40,000 men.

This is proved by our expedition to La Hogue last war, the last Oran Expedition of the Spaniards, and the constant experience in such cases. In case the French should join with the Spaniards against us, and should intend a descent upon England, it is natural to imagine that it will be from the nearest land to England viz. Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne, etc. Suppose such an expedition be intended with 30,000 men, those troops cannot assemble and be in readiness to embark under a month's time at least: witness the Invasion in 1708. In such an expedition they must employ 400 or 500 sail. Such a number of ships can never assemble without our having timely notice to guard our coast, both by sea and land, and by the use of such galleys as are above mentioned, we shall always be able to prevent any small ships that may endeavour to pass through our fleet in calms or fogs; and because these galleys can row from creek to creek, as occasion shall require, and may land their men anywhere to join the troops on shore to oppose the enemy's landing.

Digitized by Google

BECAUSE the SUCCESS is MORE CERTAIN and the EXPENSE MUCH LESS to ENGLAND of a war carried on AGAINST FRANCE and SPAIN without the ALLIANCE of the PRINCES on the CONTINENT

A war of this kind carried on upon our own foot, must be more certain of success to us than if we had all the Princes in alliance with us who were included in the Grand Alliance last war. Because as the chief force of France and Spain is by land, and as they are much superior to their neighbours by land, the entering into engagements with foreign Princes or States must always be of dangerous consequence to England upon whom the whole expense of the war may be laid. This is fully proved by King William and Queen Anne's wars, which were the occasion of the great public debt which has distressed us ever since, and all this for securing and increasing the dominions of our Allies, being so disinterested ourselves as to be content with the glory of defending them and increasing their power and wealth.

And it is evident that this nation has always been successful when they have waged war against France and Spain upon their own foot to defend their own dominions and to conquer for themselves, as in the time of the Edwards, the Henrys and Queen Elizabeth.

We are no sooner engaged in foreign alliances than we are obliged to advance great sums of money to be expended in foreign countries, to furnish great numbers of troops, to keep vast numbers of transport ships continually in our service at a great expense, and all to defend the dominions of our allies; and if we are successful the conquests are for them. We are likewise obliged, in order to consult their interests, to

Digitized by Google

neglect those conquests that would be of use to England as in the last war we laid aside attacking the Spanish West Indies in complaisance to the Emperor who represented to us at that time that such an attempt would alienate the minds of the Spanish nation from him. For these reasons a war upon our own foot cannot cost us one fourth part of the money which we are obliged to expend in a war where we tie ourselves to engagements with several Princes in alliance with us.

BECAUSE in the present case FRANCE and SPAIN have no pretence to attack The Emperor and the DUTCH if they take no part with us in the War

In the present case France and Spain have no pretence to attack their neighbours, if not in alliance with us, but if they do, those Princes will better exert themselves in their own defence when they see that they can have no prospect of assistance from us: witness what the expense did in this last war with France.

Whereas, on the other hand, if they find that they can engage us in those quarrels they think very wisely for themselves, and leave the burthen of the war upon us as principals, by which our treasures are exhausted in paying their troops (as they will always pretend poverty as long as we are the dupes to find supplies for them), while they themselves consult their own private interests exclusive of that of the alliance in general: witness the clandestine trade which the Dutch carried on with the enemy during the whole last war, by which trade the French were enabled to fit out their fleets, having no stores of their own as their Admirals have since owned, and as appears from what has been mentioned before.

Digitized by Google

BECAUSE our TRADE will NOT SUFFER by this War

In a war upon our own foot our trade can no way suffer having only our own affairs to mind and our own interests to defend; by which means we shall always have men-of-war sufficient to convoy our merchant ships and to spare; neither can the loss of our trade with Old Spain during the war be of any prejudice to us if duly considered, because, when once their treasure coming from New Spain is obstructed, and we desist from buying their wines, they will not be in a condition to buy any merchandise from us; and if our trading people in the West Indies do not during the war draw off the greatest part of that treasure by a clandestine trade as they did the last war, it will remain in the West Indies, and must fall into our hands at the end of the war; which will fully make us amends for the short time that trade will be interrupted by the war. It is to be well remembered before the end of the last war, when the coming home of the galleons was entirely obstructed and our ships had beat the French and Spaniards from the coast of New Spain, that our merchant ships went surely into the bays upon the coast of New Spain, the inhabitants brought off their money and bought our merchandise in the same manner as they would have done in time of a profound peace, and as if we had had a free liberty of trade with them; by which our plantations in America drew the greatest part of the treasure from New Spain, which will be the case now.

As to our trade with France, it would be well for us that we had no trade with them, since the balance of our trade with them is greatly against us, and every year growing worse. As we are

Digitized by Google

so much superior by sea to both these nations, it would be happy for us that France would join in this war with the Spaniards, since it would give us a very proper occasion to destroy those great branches of trade which they have got into since the last war, and do so much outdo us, viz. :

The Fishery in Newfoundland
The Sugar Trade
The Negro Trade
The East India Trade, and—
The Levant Trade.

And likewise we should be able to possess ourselves of their Settlements in Newfoundland, Mississippi and Hispaniola, and render them incapable of ever pretending to cope with us in trade.

There is a very necessary remark to be made here, that if we suffer France to continue 20 years longer in peace, they will in the same manner unavoidably steal into the greatest part of the trade which the English are now in possession of. But if France from an apprehension of losing those valuable branches of trade which they have insensibly slipt into during this long peace should avoid joining with the Spaniards against us, we shall the more easily conquer the Spaniards, and be in readiness to call France to an account in a proper time.

BECAUSE of the GREAT STRENGTH which our COLONIES in AMERICA have acquired since the last war, and the facility of taking CUBA, HISPANIOLA and PORTO RICO

What gives us the greatest certainty of success in this war is the great strength and vast trade

Digitized by Google

our plantations in America have acquired since the last war. The Province of New England alone employs above 15,000 sailors and builds vast numbers of large ships which they load with masts, yards, pitch, tar, cordage, spoak and trunnel, and send to the ports of Spain, France and Italy, where they sell ship and cargo at a very great profit, so that at present three fourths of the French merchant ships have been bought from the English plantations in America. New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, deal in the same manner and employ a great number of sailors but not so many in proportion as New England. All these colonies will be glad to employ their whole force against the Spaniards in the West Indies provided they have proper encouragement given them.

If it should be thought advisable to send troops from England to assist our plantations they may be landed at New York and refreshed there, which may be made the general rendezvous for all the American troops to join. Our plantations can easily furnish transports for this expedition, with all necessary provisions which are very cheap and in great quantity there.

At New York they may all embark for Jamaica, which is the proper place from whence we should make a descent upon Cuba, which we can do from Jamaica in 12 hours, and from whence we can supply our troops in Cuba from time to time with all manner of warlike stores and provisions.

The conquest of this place as well as of any other part of New Spain will not be thought too difficult when it is considered that the slaves in Cuba are seven in number to every white man (as they are all over the Spanish West Indies) who will readily come over to us, upon promise of

Digitized by Google

their freedom; and that in other parts the neighbouring Indians as well as the slaves will always be ready to join with us if we supply the Indians with arms and promise the slaves their liberty.

Jamaica, Barbados, and the Leeward Islands being almost worn out and in great decay will likewise be very glad to employ all their force to conquer Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico, in order to get Settlements in those Islands, which will be much more beneficial to them.

If at any time it is thought necessary to employ horse in these expeditions, we need only send the men, etc. from England and mount them in New England where good horses are in great number and very cheap.

The conquest of Cuba has been looked upon to be very difficult ever since the miscarriage of the attempt in Cromwell's time, but it will not appear so when it is considered that 6000 men sent by Cromwell had no other resource than to live upon salt provisions during their long voyage from England thither whereby they suffered very much; and when they landed, being unacquainted with the island, they were obliged to make use of guides as they found who proved to be sent in their way by the enemy, and who deceiving them led them under the cannon of their fortresses, where being repulsed they lost all courage when they considered they had no place of refuge till they returned to England; which cannot be our case at present because we have good places of refuge for our troops in case of accidents, from whence they can always be supplied with reinforcements and fresh provisions as occasion shall require, which will very much contribute to their health and support their courage to succeed in

Digitized by Google

their undertaking: we have also people to conduct them who know the country as well as the Spaniards themselves, and are perfectly well acquainted with the force of the enemy.

BECAUSE the WAR cannot be of any long duration and the ANNUAL EXPENSE thereof cannot amount to ONE HALF of what we expended the last war: The men-of-war must not hinder or discourage our Merchant ships from cruising upon the enemy

The war may be carried on for a very inconsiderable sum in relation to what the last war cost us, and by the certainty of our success can be of no long duration, because the Spaniards in the West Indies (which is the most essential to us) must be immediately destroyed by the numbers that will fall upon them from all parts of our dominions whenever the war is declared, the Merchants at home desiring nothing more ardently than an occasion to assist their friends in the countries both with ships and money, and desire no other recompense than the plunder they may get and the future security of their trade, provided always that our men of war may not have a power to hinder our Merchant ships from cruising upon the enemy as they had in the last war which very much discouraged our plantations from fitting out the ships which otherwise they would have done.

In so just a war there will be no difficulty at home of raising the necessary yearly supplies

As the nation in general desires nothing more than this war to revenge themselves of the Spaniards for their depredations and cruelties for many years last past and to secure their trade

Digitized by Google

for the future there will be no difficulty in raising the necessary supplies, or in borrowing what money may be wanted upon any emergency more especially as our stock in the City which will naturally fall a little at first, must as certainly soon rise again when they see our whole trade protected by our superiority at sea, and by strong convoys to all ports, and the first success will very much raise the spirits of the people and consequently keep up the credit of our Public Funds.

No fear of mad plots at home in favour of the Pretender

We must observe likewise that the case being as above, that the whole nation in general cry out for the war and that it is entered into entirely for the security of our trade, and the advantage of all the subjects of England, the most disaffected person in the Kingdom cannot be so void of thought as to enter into any scheme or plot for the Pretender in order to make a diversion at such a time in favour of France and Spain against whom the whole nation is at present so much exasperated, which can only tend to the disappointment of our success in this popular undertaking, so that if it is possible that there is such a creature in the Kingdom who can have such a thought he must keep his secret to himself, otherwise, he will certainly run the risk of being stoned by his next neighbour.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE ACTION BETWEEN H.M.S. LYON AND THE ELISABETH, JULY 1745

BY H. H. BRINDLEY

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE ACTION BETWEEN H.M.S. LYON AND THE ELISABETH, JULY 1745

The passage of Prince Charles Edward in 1745 from his embarkation at St. Nazaire on July 2–3,[1] to his final landing at Borrodale, in Loch nan Uamh, Inverness-shire, on about August 5, falls into two periods; the first being that during which the vessel conveying him, the Du Teillay, was off the French coast and for the last six days under escort of the Elisabeth; the second, the completion of the passage through British waters to the Highlands without escort. These two periods are separated by the indecisive action between the Elisabeth and H.M.S. Lyon off the entrance of the English Channel on July 20–21 (N.S.).

The latest authoritative account of the second part of the voyage is by Dr. W. B. Blaikie, who has compiled, as a supplement to *The Lyon in Mourning* (*vid. inf.*), an abstract of the expedition

[1] The dates are here given throughout in New Style. The French narratives are dated thus, while the logs of H.M.S. Lyon and the narratives of Aeneas MacDonald and Duncan Cameron follow the Old Style. The logs are, of course, written under the nautical day, which commences at noon 12 hours before the civil day. Durbé's journal is also kept under the nautical day; most of his entries are headed, *e.g.*, 'Du mardi, 20 juillet, à midi, au mercredi 21.'

Digitized by Google

from the several narratives and a most valuable series of notes thereon.[1]

The fullest extant account of the Du Teillay's voyage, including the action between the Lyon and Elisabeth, from the French side is the journal kept by the commander of the Du Teillay, Capitaine Claude Durbé.[2] His ship was owned by and fitted out to convey the Prince to Scotland by Anthony Walsh, 1703—1763, 'un marchand à la Fosse' or merchantship owner of the Port of Nantes, who was a descendant of certain Walshes who had left Ireland and settled at St. Malo and Nantes in the seventeenth century.[3]

Durbé's journal is preserved among the family papers of the Ducs de la Trémoïlle, who descend from the Walshes in the female line.[4] In 1901 the Duc de la Trémoïlle printed privately at Nantes the papers in his possession relating to Prince Charles Edward's expedition, including Durbé's journal, under the title 'Une Famille Royaliste, Irlandaise et Française, et le Prince Charles Edouard.'[5]

[1] 'Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart from his landing in Scotland, July, 1745, to his departure in September, 1746.' Publications of the Scottish History Society, xxiii. 1897.

[2] 'Durbe' in the records of l'Inscription Maritime, Direction de Nantes; 'Durbé' in the Trémoïlle volume; 'Darbé' also occurs. Miss Murray Macgregor (*vide* f.n., p. 114 of her translation) seems inclined to regard Durbé as the correct form.

[3] *Vide* V. Hussey Walsh, 'A Jacobite Privateer,' for an account of this branch of the family and some particulars of the privateers owned by it. An abstract of certain portions forms Appendix C of Miss Murray Macgregor's work.

[4] Through the Comte de Serrant, the title conferred on Anthony Walsh's brother by Louis XV. Anthony himself was created Earl Walsh by James 'III' ('VIII'). The genealogical tables of Walsh are translated in full by Miss Murray Macgregor.

[5] This work will be referred to in footnotes as *Fam. Roy.*

Digitized by Google

Three years after its appearance, the late Miss A. G. Murray Macgregor published a translation,[1] with an introduction and two appendices which comprise additional information on the Du Teillay's passage. Appendix A is a translation of extracts from 'La Course et les Corsaires du Port de Nantes,'[2] by S. de la Nicollière-Teijeiro.[3] Appendix B is a series of extracts from *The Lyon in Mourning*, a collection of journals, etc., relative to Prince Charles Edward, by Robert Forbes.[4] Among them are the narratives of the passage to the Highlands by two followers who sailed with the Prince. These were Aeneas MacDonald (a banker in Paris and a brother of Kinlochmoidart),[5] whose recollections were dictated while a prisoner in London in 1746–7; and Duncan Cameron, a Barra man who was sometime servant to Lochiel and was placed in attendance on the Prince under MacDonald's orders.[6]

In the present introduction to the logs of H.M.S. Lyon and footnotes to the latter the statements from the French side are from the above two narratives, from Durbé's journal as printed by the Duc de la Trémoïlle, and from Nicollière-Teijeiro's work. Some of the statements in the last must be disregarded as they are not in accord with Durbé's relation, which was not printed till several years later: apparently Nicollière-Teijeiro

[1] 7½ × 10 in., pp. 123, with frontispiece and map; Edinburgh, 1904; edition limited to 320 copies.

[2] Paris and Nantes, 1896. In this work pp. 164–174 contain the accounts of the Du Teillay and Elisabeth.

[3] Archiviste de Nantes, *ob.* 1902.

[4] Bishop of Ross and Caithness, 1762–75. *The Lyon in Mourning* has been printed in full under the editorship of H. Paton as vols. xx.–xxii. of Publ. Scot. Hist. Soc., 1895. It is this edition which is referred to in footnotes.

[5] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 281. [6] *Ibid.* i. p. 201.

Digitized by Google

did not know of the original MS. or of the narratives in *The Lyon in Mourning*.

From a footnote (p. 171) containing 'la relation imprimée reproduite ici' he appears to base his account mainly on a work quoted as 'Relation du combat de "l'Elisabeth," de 60 canons, 590 hommes d'équipage, commandée par M. de Héau, vis-à-vis d'un vaisseau de guerre anglais de 74,' with the description 'In-4°, 3 p., s.l.n.d.' The Lyon was not a 74, and the first-person conversations given by Nicollière-Teijeiro, if derived from the above anonymous pamphlet, suggest that the latter is not of much value as history. However, Nicollière-Teijeiro rightly points out the inaccuracy of speaking of the Elisabeth's commander as 'le Marquis d'O.' Another source of information mentioned by Nicollière-Teijeiro is 'Tableau de la guerre de la Pragmatique Sanction en Allemagne et en Italie, avec une relation originale de l'expédition du Prince Charles-Edouard, etc.,' 1784, in-8. I have not seen either of these works. My thanks are due to Capitaine de frégate Paul Chack, Chef du Service Historique du Ministère de la Marine, for causing search to be made in the records of the Inscription Maritime at Nantes for information on the Du Teillay. The great lacuna on the French side is the absence of the logs of the Elisabeth. Capitaine Chack tells me that, while she was acting in the Prince's interest she was officially a privateer and her logs would not be called in by the Ministry, supposing indeed that any were kept.

The narratives of Aeneas MacDonald and Duncan Cameron form a valuable supplement to Durbé's journal, but they cannot be regarded as equally reliable for dates and places because they were both dictated some time after the voyage.

Digitized by Google

MacDonald's was written down by Dr. Burton of York, also a Jacobite, while they were prisoners together in London[1]; and Cameron's account was given to Bishop Forbes 'at several different conversations I had with him.'[2] Dr. Blaikie discusses certain discrepancies between the two narratives, and is inclined to think that the fault may sometimes lie in Dr. Burton's MS.[3] This matter, however, need not be more than mentioned, as it becomes of importance only after the Du Teillay had reached Highland waters.

The name of the vessel in which the Prince sailed has been recorded with much variety by both English and French authors, *e.g.* le Du Teillay, le Dutillet, le Dutillay, le Du Tilly, La Duthil, la Dontelle, la Doutelle, la Dentelle, la Denthelle. The Prince heads one of his letters to his father 'abord du vaisseau le dutellier.'[4] Durbé's journal has 'Dutillet' throughout. The correct spelling seems to be Du Teillay, for Nicollière-Teijeiro says 'M. Du Teillay, alors commissaire de la marine à Nantes, donna, sans nul doute, son nom au corsaire de M. Walsh.'[5] This spelling is adopted by l'Inscription Maritime Direction de Nantes.

The earliest mention of the Du Teillay (as 'le Dutillet') in the Trémoïlle volume is in a letter[6] from one D'Heguerty, an Irishman settled in France as a shipowner, who was early concerned in the project of a Royalist descent on the British Isles,[7] to her owner, Anthony Walsh. She is referred to as ordered to carry munitions to the West Indies in a convoy. This letter is dated Paris,

[1] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 281.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 201.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 3, f.n.
[4] Blaikie, *op. cit.*, p. 3, f.n.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 165, f.n.
[6] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 9.
[7] *Ibid.*, *avant-propos*.

Digitized by Google

9th January, 1745. In a subsequent letter from D'Heguerty (7th April)[1] he notes that Walsh has ceased to mention her in the above connection, and it is evident that she was not sent, for she is no doubt the vessel promised by Walsh as 'a little frigate, a good sailor,' to the Prince in a letter from Nantes, 22nd April.[2] Nicollière-Teijeiro gives her tonnage as 150,[3] Aeneas Mac-Donald as 110,[4] which appears less likely. She is referred to several times in the correspondence, including Durbé's journal, as a 'frégate'; she would be 'une frégate légère' in the French classification of the time. Trémoïlle's note on this, 'C'était plutôt un sloop armé en guerre,' was probably written with the modern meaning of 'frigate' in mind.

Nicollière-Teijeiro notes that she has been commonly credited with 35 guns,[5] and points out that such an armament is impossible on so small a burthen: he follows her 'rôle d'armement' of 1744, as 'le rôle de 1745 n'existe pas,' which gives her 18 guns and 14 pierriers.[6] In the opening words of his journal Durbé makes the lighter armament more numerous: 'Au nom de Dieu et

[1] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 17.

[2] In the collection of V. Hussey Walsh, and printed in Miss Murray Macgregor's work, p. 13.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

[4] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 284.

[5] *E.g.* by Mellinet, *Histoire de la Commune et de la Milice de Nantes*.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 165, f.n. Pierriers were swivel-guns, 1 or ½-pdrs. Durbé mentions that they were all landed, with other munitions for the Prince's service, at Loch Ailert. Quoting one of the contemporary records, J. A. S. Barrett notes that twelve 'large swevel guns' were 'buried' near Glenfinnan ('Prince Charlie in Moidart,' *Inverness Courier*, 7th June, 1927). Swivel-guns had trunnions, which rendered them easy to mount on carriages for land service.

Digitized by Google

de la très Sainte Trinité. Soit commencé le present journal pour servir à moi, Durbé, commandant la frégate le Dutillet, de Nantes, armé en guerre de 18 pièces de canon, de 24 pierriers et de 67 hommes d'équipage, pour faire le voyage d'Ecosse.' [1] The records of the vessel preserved by the Inscription Maritime at Nantes are scanty, but there is mention of a re-armament in April 1745,[2] which was probably carried out by Walsh in view of the Scottish expedition. Captain Brett of H.M.S. Lyon took her for a 20- or 16-gun ship.[3]

Contemporary official reports are in general agreement with the above. Thus Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale, 19th August: 'He (the Prince) came in a vessel mounting sixteen or eighteen guns with about thirty Irish or French officers on board,' [4] and the Duke of Argyll to the Marquis of Tweeddale, 22nd August: 'On the 26 of July (O.S.) a ship having eighteen carriage guns mounted & six upon deck arrived at the mouth of Lochinnest.' [5]

The Du Teillay weighed from Mindin, an anchorage in the Commune de St. Brévin, Loire-Inférieure, on 2nd July, 1745, in company with the 'frégates' Dryade, Fauvette, and another vessel mentioned only by a dash.[6]

[1] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 21. Aeneas MacDonald (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 284) credits her with 16 guns, and Lacour-Gayet (*Marine de Louis XV*, p. 157) calls her 'une frégate de dix-huit canons.'

[2] Information obtained through Capitaine P. Chack.

[3] 20 in his log and 16 in his letter to the Secretary of Admiralty.

[4] *P.R.O., State Papers, Domestic, Scotland*, 1745, B. 25, no. 54. Actually dated O.S., 8th August.

[5] *Ibid.*, B. 25, no. 61.

[6] Trémoïlle thinks this was the Elisabeth (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 21, f.n.); Nicollière-Teijeiro makes her join off l'Ile

Digitized by Google

These vessels were convoying about '6 gabarres et 84 barques'[1] to Brittany ports. While at anchor the same evening at Bonne-Anse, 6 kilometres from St. Nazaire, the Du Teillay received the Prince, Anthony Walsh, Aeneas MacDonald, and other adherents.[2] The ship sailed next morning, and on the 4th came to anchor off Belle Isle. The convoy seems to have sailed at about the same time as the Du Teillay, for Durbé notes on the 3rd and on the 8th three 'frégates' convoying over 100 sail bound for Breton ports. While at Belle Isle he mentions the danger from 'les vaisseaux ennemis . . . tous les jours, sous Belle Isle, sous pavillons françois.'[3]

On 13th July the 60- or 64-gun ship Elisabeth[4] came in and anchored.

The letters between the Prince, D'Heguerty and Walsh,[5] printed in *Une Famille Royaliste*, illustrate the regular French practice, which hardly obtained at all on the British side, of lending men-of-war to 'armateurs' for privateer-

de Pilier, which the Du Teillay sighted on 3–4th July (*op. cit.*, p. 166); Durbé's first mention of his escort by name is off Belle Isle on the 13th (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 22); while MacDonald states that the Du Teillay waited at Belle Isle for the Elisabeth from the 4th to 15th July (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 285). Durbé's date is most likely the right one; he records weighing for the final adventure at 5 A.M. on the 15th (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 23).

[1] Smaller craft than the store-ships; no doubt mostly of fore-and-aft rig.

[2] MacDonald gives their names (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 282).

[3] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 22.

[4] MacDonald calls her 'a French ship of war of 64 guns and about 500 men' (*op. cit.*, p. 285); Captain Brett also speaks of the Elisabeth as a 64 (Log and Letter to Secretary of Admiralty).

[5] *E.g.*, D'Heguerty to Anthony Walsh, 26th Dec. 1744 *Fam. Roy.*, p. 7).

Digitized by Google

ing or convoy purposes. D'Heguerty, for instance, writes, in connection with a proposal to ask the King for 'un navirre de guerre de 50 à 60 canons,' 'Ma Société de l'Emeraude veut entreprendre cet armement.'

The 'armateurs' not only fitted out 'en course' such vessels at their own charges but found the crews also. Structural alterations were permitted; thus, Walsh obtains official sanction to 'razer les dunettes' of the Apollon on condition that he would restore them on returning the vessel to the King. Aeneas MacDonald's remarks on the practice are worth quoting. 'The Elisabeth, though a French man-of-war, was sent out as convoy to the Doutelle by one Walter Rutlets,[1] an Irishman, and a merchant at Dunkirk.[2] As it may seem odd that a subject could send out a man-of-war as a convoy without the king's knowledge where she was going, it is incumbent upon me to explain the nature of such an undertaking. I must therefore remark that when any of the French king's men-of-war are in harbour and fit for use, but not going upon any immediate business of the king's own, any of his subjects may upon proper application have her, and send her out on a cruise for the time granted, he (the subject) paying the men's wages during that time. By this means the King of France annoys his enemies without being at the expence of the men, and his ships are thereby kept pretty constantly employed, instead of lying in harbours, and their officers having no other employment than entertaining the ladies on shore.'[3]

[1] The 'Mr. Ruttelidge' of D'Heguerty's letters.

[2] Lacour-Gayet (*op. cit.*, p. 157) says she was 'armé en course par un armateur de Dunkerque.'

[3] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 287.

Digitized by Google

It is somewhat confusing that two ships named 'Elisabeth' appear in connection with the 1745 expedition. In D'Heguerty's correspondence with Anthony Walsh an Elisabeth of 400 tons is one of the ships owned by these 'armateurs' which are to sail laden with 'provisions,' wine and flour for Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Caye St. Louis under escort of the man-of-war Apollon. The Du Teillay, carrying munitions of war, is to accompany them and assist in protecting the unarmed vessels.[1] This Elisabeth appears again in a later letter thus, another 'armateur,' M. Chauvel, 'passe à Nantes pour y assister à la vente de l'Élisabeth et de son chargement,'[2] and in April 'Mr. Ruttelidge enverra l'Elisabeth croiser dans le Nord,' from the context evidently in connection with a descent on the British Isles; other ships necessary for 'notre grande affaire' are spoken of.[3] In a letter dated 18th February, 1745, this Elisabeth is spoken of as the property of a M. Vincent.[4]

The Elisabeth which escorted the Du Teillay up to the action with H.M.S. Lyon is, on the other hand, generally referred to as a 'King's vessel' or 'a French ship of war.'[5] Trémoïlle has a note that she was a 'frégate de guerre' of 60 guns placed at the disposal of Prince Charles

[1] D'Heguerty to Anthony Walsh, 9th Jan. 1745 (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 9).

[2] 24th Feb., 1745 (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 12).

[3] 7th April, 1745 (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 17).

[4] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 12.

[5] Durbé's journal (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 22); MacDonald's narrative (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 285); Cameron's narrative (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 201); Nicollière-Teijeiro (*op. cit.*, p. 167). Lacour-Gayet (*Marine de Louis XV*, p. 157) mentions the Élisabeth as 'un vaisseau de la marine royale de 64 canons.'

Digitized by Google

Edward on the intervention of Cardinal de Tencin [1] who was especially active in the Jacobite cause. Miss Murray Macgregor suggests that she was a vessel which had been captured by Walsh's privateers and adjudged to him as a prize, and which was subsequently purchased by the Government.[2] This surmise appears to have arisen from the statement by Aeneas MacDonald that one of Walsh's privateers had taken a man-of-war (her name and where left blank) and had sold her to the King of France for 15,000 livres.[3] There is possibly confusion here with the merchantman Elisabeth. The tonnage of the latter, if given correctly as 400, precludes her being a 64-gun ship with a crew of 500. Moreover, though surprising captures of men-of-war by privateers did take place occasionally, there is no record of the loss of an Elizabeth from the Royal Navy at this time, and the ship bearing that name was in commission from 1725 to 1766, when she was broken up. This vessel succeeded in name the 70-gun ship of 1114 tons which Du Guay-Trouin took in The Soundings on November 23, 1704, and carried into Brest with his subsequent capture the Dutch privateer Amazone of 40 guns.[4] It is quite possible that this Elisabeth survived to be the Elisabeth which fought the Lyon, though the possibility of a change of name by the captors must be remembered. Nevertheless, we have a suggestion that it was current belief that the

[1] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 22, f.n. Captain Brett of H.M.S. Lyon credits her with 24-pdrs. on L.D., 12-pdrs. on U.D., and 6- or 8-pdrs. on Q.D. and F.C. (Letter to Secretary of Admiralty).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 18, f.n. [3] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 293.

[4] Duguay-Trouin, *Mémoires* (autobiography): Charnock, *Biog. Nav.*, ii. p. 386; Sir J. K. Laughton, *Studies in Naval History*, p. 316; C. Norman, *Corsairs of France*, p. 220.

Digitized by Google

Elisabeth was a capture in 'A Compleat History of the Rebellion from its first Rise in 1745,' etc., by James Ray, of Whitehaven, 'Volunteer under his Royal Highness the D. of Cumberland,' 1754, p. 19. 'This Frigat of his (i.e., the Du Teillay) was joined of Belle-Isle by the Elizabeth, a Man of War of sixty Guns, taken from us by the French in the last War, and now extremely well mann'd for this Service.'

The identity of the Elisabeth must remain in some doubt, but it is virtually certain that if a capture she was not a recent one, and that she was not the same ship as Walsh's merchantman.

The Elisabeth carried arms, stores, and money for the Prince.[1] She was under the command of Capitaine Dau or Deau[2]; one of her officers is

[1] Beyond the '4000 Lewis d'ors, 1000 fusees (muskets) and eighteen hundred broadswords' carried in the Du Teillay (*vide* C. S. Terry, *The Forty-Five, a Narrative of the Last Jacobite Rising*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1922).

[2] So in Durbé's journal. Trémoïlle has a f.n. (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 23): 'ou mieux D'O, descendant de celui qui combattit à Velez-Malaga avec le comte de Toulouse (en 1704).' Nicollière-Teijeiro calls him 'Douaud' and remarks that 'D'O' and 'De Héau' are inaccurate spellings (*op. cit.*, p. 174, f.n.). I am indebted to M. Charles de la Roncière for kindly ascertaining that D'O is not to be found in 'la table de la *Gazette de France* par de Grange le Surgère, ni au *Nobiliaire* de La Chegnaye-Desbois,' So it appears that the Duc de la Trémoïlle's note is erroneous; Capitaine 'D'O' of the Elisabeth was not related to 'le marquis D'O, lieutenant-général des armées navales, 1728, qui participa en 1704 à la bataille de Velez-Malaga.' Moreover, M. de la Roncière goes on to say that the *Gazette de France* for 1745 states that the commander of the Elisabeth 'était un corsaire de Dunkerque nommé Dhau,' which agrees well with Lacour-Gayet's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 157) that the Elisabeth was fitted out by an *armateur* of Dunkirk. It would seem that errors in spelling and similar sound of the names have been responsible for identifying the latter with the noble family of D'O.

Digitized by Google

spoken of by Durbé as 'M. Bar, capitaine de pavillon dudit navire.' [1]

The two vessels weighed from Bellisle early on the 15th July.[2] The wind was fair (presumably easterly) that day and the next; on the 18th July the breeze freshened.[3] On these two days seven sail, supposed to be Brest ships, were sighted N.W. and finally S.[4] On the 19th the wind had fallen to 'a dead calm.' [5]

There is disagreement between the several narratives as to when and under what circumstances the opposing vessels first sighted each other. The Captain's and Master's logs of the Lyon give the time as 10 A.M. on the 20–21st. Durbé, under the 19–20th, notes 'nous avons entendu tirer plusieurs coups de canon qui venoient du N.E.' The hour is not given, but there follows 'à 5 heures nous avons vu huit navires; nous nous aperçumes qu'ils nous donnoient la chasse et faisoient porter largue sur nous . . . nous nous sommes préparés au combat, à midi. Ledit navire estoit dans l'E., distant d'une lieue et demie, qui forçoit de voiles pour nous joindre. Nous l'avons reconnu pour un navire à deux batteries et demie, soupçonné anglais.' [6] Presumably the '5 heures' was A.M. of the 20th. MacDonald does not give the exact time of sighting the Lyon, but the context makes it in the morning.[7]

[1] Trémoïlle adds 'Peut-être descendant de Jean Bart' (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 24, f.n.); and Nicollière-Teijeiro calls him 'un digne petit-neveu du héros de Dunkerque' (*op. cit.*, p. 172).

[2] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 23.

[3] MacDonald's narrative (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 285).

[4] Durbé (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 23).

[5] MacDonald (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 285).

[6] Durbé (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 23). Trémoïlle notes on this, 'à deux ponts, avec batteries aux gaillards d'avant et d'arrière' (*ibid.*, p. 23, f.n.).

[7] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 285.

Digitized by Google

Cameron's statement [1] that she was seen 'one evening' and next morning reappeared and disappeared 'three or four times' seems imagination.

Nicollière-Teijeiro puts the sighting of the enemy as 'vers les neuf heures du matin.' [2] Durbé's account reads as though the Lyon was cruising in company and detached herself for to chase. Nicollière-Teijeiro states that fourteen sail were sighted by the French ships, and 'trois gros navires de guerre escortaient ce convoi. Le plus fort se détacha pour donner chasse aux Nantais.' This is erroneous, as the Lyon's log shows that she was cruising independently.

The two French ships now prepared for action, and Captain Dau informed the Du Teillay that he would brail up his courses ('qu'il alloit carguer ses basses voiles'), whereupon Walsh and the Prince, evidently unwilling to take risks so early in the passage, instructed Durbé 'attendre encore une heure et de faire toujours nostre route.' [3] Dau agreed, and added that if forced to action he would board after his first broadside. Durbé promised support, and should grappling prove possible, he would throw 50 men aboard the enemy.

He notes here 'C'est de quoi nous estions convenus à deux heures après midi.' He does not say that Captain Dau put off to the Du Teillay for the consultation, but merely 'à une heure après midi, nous nous sommes approchés, Monsieur D'O et moy, pour nous parler.' [3] According to MacDonald, Dau came aboard the Du Teillay and took part in a council of war 'with the passengers and her officers.' [4] The decision arrived at was that supposing no more enemy ships appeared, the

[1] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 202.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 170.
[3] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 23.
[4] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 285.

Digitized by Google

Elisabeth should stand down on the Lyon, reserving her fire till the last moment. Then, 'if the Lion did not sink, to close in with her and board her directly,' which the Du Teillay would assist as far as possible, as it was thought her light armament and small arms would be of great use at close quarters.[1] Cameron's narrative differs widely from the above two, which agree very fairly. He makes the commander of the Elisabeth come aboard with the proposition that the Du Teillay might co-operate usefully by acting as a lure at a safe distance, which would keep the enemy occupied while the Elisabeth stood down upon him. 'Mr Welch,' having in mind his passengers, replied that this was out of the question, and, further, that it was his 'humble opinion' that Captain Dau's first duty was to escort the Du Teillay and not fight unless he was actually attacked. At the same time he was not in command of the Elisabeth, and her captain 'might do as he thought proper.' To this Captain Dau replied that the enemy's slow approach seemed intentional, and that if her consorts came up both ships might be lost, so he had better engage single-handed at once, in doing which he believed he might give a good account of the enemy. He thereupon drew his sword, returned to his own ship, and 'immediately the Elisabeth bore down upon the Lion.'[2] This last statement does not agree with Durbé's account, to be quoted later. At this distance in time it is not possible to account for the discrepancies in the several narratives. Blaikie[3] gives authority for concluding that Bishop Forbes sifted Cameron's story and believed it correct in the main as supplemented by Aeneas

[1] *Lyon in Mourning*. i. 285. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 202.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 3, f.n.

Digitized by Google

MacDonald's, but Durbé's journal was not known to Forbes, and, as the latter observes, 'Duncan Cameron, being only a servant, could know things but imperfectly and at second-hand.'[1] His narrative in general indicates that he was more interested in the personages on board than in naval events, and here and there his gossip about Prince Edward is entertaining, as for instance the latter's attempted escape to the Elisabeth from the overcrowded Du Teillay 'for more air and greater convenience in every way.'

From whatever sources he obtained it, Nicollière-Teijeiro's description of events immediately preceding the engagement has no value, for he makes the Du Teillay crowd on sail to escape the moment the Lyon was sighted, so that by noon and therefore several hours before a shot was fired she was below the horizon.[2] Durbé relates how the Elisabeth, on Captain Dau rejoining her, and as the Lyon came on, brailed up her courses and lay to, at the same time putting her long-boat afloat. Then, 'nous voyons que ce navire ne vouloit que nous faire perdre du chemin, pour donner le temps aux navires que nous avions vus le matin de nous joindre.' This fear of enemy reinforcements resulted in an agreement to make sail once more, which both ships did. But 'l'Anglais, voyant cela, marchant toujours mieux que nous, a fait servir aussi et envoyé sa chaloupe en dérive,' came up, so that at half-past five she was 'en bau de l'Elisabeth.'[3]

Contact thus brought about, the main source of information on the subsequent events is the Lyon's logs. Her position at noon on 20–21st July is entered in the Master's log as 48° 12′ N.

[1] *Op. cit.*, i. p. 294.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 171.
[3] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 23.

Digitized by Google

and 3° 41′ W., the Lizard bearing N. 54, E. 30, distant 59 leagues. The Captain's log places the ship several miles eastward of the above, viz., 48° 11′ N., 3.34 W., the Lizard bearing N. 47, E. 28, distant 52 leagues. The Elisabeth and Du Teillay had then been in sight for two hours.

In his letter to the Secretary of Admiralty,[1] Captain Brett gives his position on sighting the French ships in these words—'Being in the Latitude of 47° 57′ N., and West from the Meridian of the Lizard 39 leagues.' Aeneas MacDonald's narrative records the Du Teillay's position when the Lyon was first sighted in exactly the same words, from 'Being' to 'leagues' inclusive.[2] Such a coincidence cannot be accepted. MacDonald may possibly have kept a note of an observation by the Du Teillay's officers, but the identity of the wording is fatal, even if we accept the extreme improbability of the two ships, several miles apart, agreeing to a minute in latitude and a league in bearing. MacDonald did not dictate his narrative to Dr. Burton till many months, perhaps a year, after he had landed, and Bishop Forbes did not obtain 'the doctor's own hand-writ from which I made out the above transcript' till November, 1747.[3] The matter strongly suggests amplifying of MacDonald's statement by either Burton or Forbes: there was plenty of time for them to have read published accounts of the action containing Captain Brett's record of his position.

Durbé gives no position at any time from July 17 till the day following the action. His

[1] *P.R.O., Admy.* 1/1481 B.
[2] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. p. 285.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. p. 294.

Digitized by Google

reckoning was no doubt taken from Minden, St. Nazaire, 9° 10′ West from Paris on 2nd July.

Durbé navigated by ' Le Neptune françois,' [1] on which work he remarks (30th July) ' Le Neptune françois est plus S.S.E. que les cartes hollandoises de 30 minutes,' but he prefers it to them as ' il cadre avec mon instrument.' [2]

Durbé's statement that the enemy was sighted to the E.,[3] MacDonald's that ' they descried a sail to windward ' [4] (the light breeze was N.N.E. and N.N.W.), and that of the Lyon's logs ' saw two sail to westward,' [5] are in fair agreement. At noon on the 21–22nd July, about 14 hours after firing had ceased, the Lyon's Master's log gives 48·12 N., 3·23 W., the Lizard bearing N. 52, E. 20, distant 56 leagues. The Captain's log again makes the ship more to the east, with 48·17 N., 3·25 W., the Lizard bearing N. 47, E. 15, distant 49 leagues.

Durbé concludes this day with the entry for the same hour ' Hauteur observée, 47° 5′; longitude d'arrivée, 5° 3′.' This places him about 48 miles S. of the Lyon, and is in accord with his entry ' Nous fismes porter au S.O.' [6]

[1] ' Atlas nouveau des cartes marines levées et gravées par ordre exprès du Roi pour l'usage de ses armées de mer, revus et mis en ordre par les sieurs Pène, Cassini, et autres ; chez H. Jaillot, Paris, 1693. C'est la première édition. Cet ouvrage fut aussitôt, en 1693, démarqué par les Hollandais, qui publièrent " De Fransche Neptune " à Amsterdam, chez P. Moetier.' (Note kindly sent by M. Charles de la Roncière, Nov. 1927). The Admiralty Library possesses an edition dated 1708 ; and in 1753 there was a reissue superintended by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, Hydrographer to the Navy (Lacour-Gayet, *Marine de Louis XV*, p. 100).

[2] *Fam. Roy.*, pp. 25–26.

[3] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 23.

[4] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 285.

[5] *Vid. inf.*

[6] *Fam. Roy.*, p. 24.

Digitized by Google

H.M.S. Lyon was a 58-gun ship.[1] Her crew numbered 400, and she was commanded by Captain Peircy Brett.[2] She had been cruising in the Channel, and her Captain's log records that she had taken the 'snow of war' Naiade of Havre de Grace, armed with 10 carriage and 10 swivel guns, on 11th July and towed her into St. Helen's Road, I.W. The Lyon weighed from there on the 15th, and cruised westward till her encounter with the two French ships. During the 24 hours ending noon of the Wednesday, 21st July, the wind was N.E., light and tending to back. The course in general was S.W.[3]

H.M.S. LYON. CAPTAIN'S LOG.

Tuesday, 20th July, 1745.[4]

Wind, N.E. by N., N. by W. Course, S. 40 W. The most part light airs and cloudy, at 1 P.M. in sight 18 sail, at 2 fired a gun to leeward as a signal of friendship to the ships in chase off, ½ past 3 A.M. lowered the longboat and came up with the chase, found them to be a Dutch convoy consisting of 4 men of war and 14 sail of Merchant-

[1] Fourth-rate, 914 tons; built at Chatham, 1709. Rebuilt as 1068 tons, Deptford, 1738. Sold, 1765. 58 guns, viz. L.D., 24 24-pdrs.; U.D., 24 12-pdrs.; Q.D., 8 6-pdrs.; F.C., 2 6-pdrs.

[2] 1709–1781. With Lord Anson in the Centurion's voyage, and his First Captain in the Royal George off Brest, 1758. Knighted, 1752. Commanded in the Downs, 1759. Rear-Admiral and second in command in the Mediterranean, 1762. One of the Lords Commissioners under Lord Hawke, 1766–70. Vice-Admiral, 1770. Admiral, 1778 (*D.N.B.*, *Charnock*, etc.).

[3] Master's Log; *P.R.O., Admy.* 52/646.

[4] *P.R.O., Admy.*, 51/538; actually dated O.S., 9th July.

Digitized by Google

men ships from Amsterdam bound to Lisbon, Do., the Dutch Commodore saluted us with 9 guns, we returned 9, at 10 [1] saw 2 sail westward, cleared ship, and gave chase, Do., cut away the longboat.[2]

During the 21st July the wind continued northerly.

H.M.S. LYON. MASTER'S LOG.

Wednesday, 21st July, 1745.[3]

Came within gunshot of the Chase, Do. she hauled up her courses,[4] hoisted French colours and fired a gun to windward,[5] Do. we hauled up our courses,[6] and hoisted English colours,[7] soon after he lowered his colours [8] and made sail.[9]

[1] 10 A.M. of the 20–21st.

[2] The Master's Log is in almost the same words, with the addition, for 5 A.M. of the 21st, 'Tacked and brought too and hoisted our long bt. in.' It also records the two sail sighted at 10 A.M. as bearing W.S.W.

[3] Actually dated O.S., 10th July.

[4] Durbé (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 23) confirms this by 'M. d'O. a cargué ses basses voiles.'

[5] Nicollière-Teijeiro (*op. cit.*, p. 171) says: 'L'Elisabeth hissa la flamme en tête de son grand mât, et arbora le pavillon français dont les plis ondoyants se développèrent salués d'un coup de canon.'

[6] This was the shortening sail which caused Durbé to suspect the Lyon was awaiting assistance. It is mentioned also by Nicollière-Teijeiro.

[7] Nicollière-Teijeiro's statement that the Lyon at first displayed the *French* pendant is clearly fiction.

[8] This must be an error for 'courses.' The log is a fair copy by more than one hand, very different from the crabbed signature 'John Tory' (perhaps should be 'Torry') at its end.

[9] Durbé (*loc. cit.*) has 'Nous convinsmes de faire servir et de continuer nostre route; c'est ce que nous avons fait,' which appears to apply to both the French ships.

Digitized by Google

We did the same,[1] at ½ past 4 found that we came nothing up with him, having our longboat astern, by order of our Captain cut her away,[2] at ½ past 5 came alongside of him[3] within Pistol Shot and began the Engagement, this Bloody Battle held till 10 at night,[4] which time the Enemy made sail from us towards the S.E.[5] Our Bold and Brave Commander at the same time hailed them and Desired

[1] Durbé (*loc. cit.*), as already mentioned, records 'L'Anglais, voyant cela (*i.e.*, that the Elisabeth had made sail) marchant toujours mieux que nous, a fait servir aussi.'

[2] Durbé (*loc. cit.*) says the Lyon 'envoyé sa chaloupe en dérive.'

[3] Durbé (*op. cit.*, p. 24) also gives 5.30 for the Lyon coming 'en bau de l'Elisabeth.'

[4] Durbé (*op. cit.*, p. 24) records that 'A 10 heures de soir le feu a cessé de part et d'autre.'

[5] Durbé says that on firing ceasing the Du Teillay stood down to the Elisabeth, and was asked by Bar (or Bart), now in command as Captain Dau was dangerously wounded, for some men to help refit. The Elisabeth could not lie to to receive the boat which Durbé offered to send: ('Je luy dis que j'allois le faire et tenir mon canot de dehors; je luy dis de mettre en travers, pour pouvoir le luy envoyer. Il me dit qu'il ne le pouvoit pas et qu'il falloit le suivre'). Captain Bar desired that the Du Teillay should follow him, for at any rate 'il falloit absolument qu'il fît relâche à Brest,' as the Elisabeth could not keep the sea. Durbé and the Prince's adherents represented the danger of falling into the hands of the enemy ships they had sighted in the morning, and it was finally decided that it would be better for the Prince to press on his journey and for the Elisabeth to make for Brest. Nicollière-Teijeiro (*op. cit.*, p. 172) states that Captain Dau died from his wound during the engagement. Cameron (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 203) also records that the Du Teillay came up to ascertain how the Elisabeth had fared, and adds that Captain Dau said that if Durbé could supply 'A mainmast and some rigging' he would refit sufficiently to continue as escort. What Cameron calls a mainmast must have been booms for a jury rig. At any rate 'Mr. Welch' replied that the Du Teillay did not possess them and if she did he could not lose the time which such assistance would consume.

Digitized by Google

them to stay awhile longer,[1] but the enemy not complying with his request, and we much Disabled lay to all night refitting our Ship as well as we could, at 8 A.M.[2] see the Enemy bear away towards the W.S.W., we having neither mast or yard fitting to carry any sail on, our sails and rigging all fore and aft and Booms Shot and Shattered to pieces, was obliged to make the best of our way we could to gain some Harbour to refit his Majesty's ship.

H.M.S. LYON. CAPTAIN'S LOG.

Wednesday, 21st July 1745.[3]

Wind.	Course.
No.	
NE.	S 48 E^{t}
No.	

The most part moderate and fair weather. At 2 P.M. lost the log and two lines, at 5 run up alongside of the chase, which we found to be a French 64-gun ship of war, the other a small ship of 20 guns and began to engage,[4] at 6 our mizen

[1] Nicollière-Teijeiro (*op. cit.*, p. 172) says: 'Vers dix heures et demie, quelques paroles prononcées à l'aide d'un porte-voix parvinrent vaguement aux oreilles du commandant français.'

[2] 21–22nd July, nautical day.

[3] Actually dated 10th July (O.S.).

[4] Durbé says that 'nous avons tous cargué (brailed up) nos basses voiles,' including presumably the Lyon. From his account the action was at first broadside to broadside, the Lyon having her port and her opponent the starboard battery in action. Thus the ships were at first heading together. Then he records that 'L'Anglais, estant au vent de l'Elisabeth a laissé tomber sa (voile de) misaine, et hissé son grand foc. L'Elisabeth ayant tardé quelque temps à faire la mesme manœuvre, cela a fait que l'Anglais a eu le temps de passer en avant et a arrivé si bien qu'il lui a tiré toute sa volée de bâbord, qui a allongé l'Elisabeth d'avant

Digitized by Google

topmast was shot away, and soon after our mizen mast and mizen yard came down upon deck, at 8 the mainyard arm, and fore topsail yard arm were shot away, and maintopsail yard in the slings, by 9 all our lower masts and topmasts were shot through in several places, top-gallant yard

en arrière.' (Miss Murray Macgregor's translation has wrongly ' mizzen ' for ' fore-course.') MacDonald's narrative (*loc. cit.*, p. 286) confirms Durbé by the words ' the Lion had the advantage of the wind.' It seems clear that the two vessels were heading westerly on parallel courses, with wind on the beam and the Lyon to northward of her opponent. Captain Brett took advantage of his position and kept away across the bows of the Elisabeth to rake. Durbé goes on to relate that by this manœuvre the Lyon succeeded in placing herself between the Elisabeth and Du Teillay, and that she then fired three guns of her starboard broadside at the latter: these passed between her masts, but langridge (' mitraille ') riddled his sails. The Du Teillay did not return the fire as her small guns were out of range. Actually, Durbé was no doubt keeping away in accordance with the agreement made before action. Moreover Durbé says that he was kept off by the enemy's ' canons de 33 l.,' though ' nous suivions toujours de près l'Elisabeth, pour en cas d'abordage lui donner du secours ' (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 24). After the Lyon had fired on the Du Teillay she seems to have put her helm down and again got to windward of the Elisabeth, for Durbé goes on to say ' les deux navires ont changé de cap et ont gouverné au S.E.; ils se sont mis baux à baux, si bien que l'Anglais a tiré de sa volée de tribord, et l'Elisabeth de sa volée de bâbord,' which places the Lyon to northward of her opponent once more. It was this resumption of a S.E. direction which made him anxious as to enemy reinforcements (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 24). No further change of position is recorded in Durbé's journal, so we are left to suppose that the two ships continued the action to its close on parallel courses, heading in general S.E., the Lyon to windward.

Apparently quoting from his anonymous pamphlet, Nicollière-Teijeiro says that the Elisabeth was ' criblée et balayée par une pluie de projectiles et de mitrailles, " partie de ces mitrailles défendues par les lois de la guerre " ' (*op. cit.*, p. 172).

Digitized by Google

arms shot away, and all our main shrouds except two, one on the Starboard side and the other on the Larboard, the Braces, Bowlings, topsail halliards, jeers, lifts, tacks, and Sheets, shot all to pieces, so that we lay muzzled and could do nothing with our sails,[1] the enemy did not receive so much damage in his masts and rigging as we did, but his Hull must have suffered much,[2] at 10 the Enemy sheered off and ran directly from us, and was soon out of sight, and as our masts, yards, rigging, were so much shattered there was no possibility of following him, the small ship at the beginning of the engagement made two attempts to rake us, but was beat off by our chase guns forward and aft, so that she did us little or

[1] Nicollière-Teijeiro in his usual dramatic manner relates how at 11 P.M., as the Lyon was silent, Lieutenant Bart ordered firing to cease, 'mais les canonniers, trop animés, envoyèrent six boulets, n'ayant pas compris ou entendu l'ordre du capitaine. . . . Les Anglais, voyant le feu continuer s'imaginèrent, sans nul doute, que leurs adversaires étaient décidés à les couler. Dans ce suprême danger, ils pointèrent, avec le plus grand soin, une de leurs dernières pièces, dont le boulet tua le timonier et brisa la roue du gouvernail de l'Elisabeth, qui, dégréée de toutes ses manœuvres, vint immédiatement sur bâbord. Ils profitèrent aussitôt de ce fatal accident pour s'éloigner, quoique des plus maltraités, leur perroquet de fougue étant coupé, la dunette et la grande vergue emportées' (*op. cit.*, p. 172). A piece of imaginative writing, in which, however, the injuries to the Lyon agree fairly with those recorded in the last three lines of Captain Brett's log. All that Duncan Cameron has to say of the actual engagement is that the Elisabeth 'began the attack with great briskness,' that the ships were 'equally matched,' and that 'after five or six hours the Lion was obliged to sheer off like a tub upon the water' (*op. cit.*, p. 203). In the darkness at the close of the action it is fairly clear that each side was in doubt as to what exactly had happened to the other.

[2] Nicollière-Teijeiro says the Elisabeth was hulled 150 times, 12 shot being in the water-line (*op. cit.*, p. 174).

Digitized by Google

no damage, and after that she too at a great distance,[1] we received a great many shot in our Hull which killed 45 men, some of them were under water, and 107 were disabled with wounds,[2] the Boats and Booms shot through in many places, so that we have not one spare mast or yard in the ship, at daylight in the morning saw the

[1] Durbé's account is in general agreement: the cautious hanging on of the Du Teillay would easily suggest that she was endeavouring to engage from a comparatively safe position (*vid. sup.*).

[2] Later entries in the Captain's and Master's logs state that several of the wounded (7 in C.L.) died on the passage to Plymouth. It is not possible to give the Elisabeth's losses accurately. Duncan Cameron says that she hailed to the Du Teillay that 30 to 40 officers and gentlemen were killed and wounded. Ray's *Compleat History of the Rebellion, cit. sup.*, states (p. 20) that the Elisabeth 'returned to Brest, quite disabled, having her Captain and sixty-four men killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded.' Nicollière-Teijeiro records that the killed included the Captain, 11 other officers and 45 men, while 18 officers and 99 men were wounded. He gives separately the losses suffered by 'la compagnie de Maurepas, dirigée par le chevalier de Nansize,' as 4 officers and 3 volunteers killed, 1 officer wounded. The *Gazette de France* for August 7, 1745, in reporting the return of the Elisabeth to Brest under the command of Lieutenant Bart *vice* Çapitaine Dhau, killed in action, gives her losses as 57 killed and 176 wounded (Note from M. Charles de la Roncière, 1927). If we accept Nicollière-Teijeiro's statement, and presume that Captain Brett's casualties among 'my men' exclude officers, who are mentioned later in his letter, the losses of the two ships were approximately:

	Killed	Wounded	Total
Lyon	52	110	162
Elisabeth . . .	57	176	233

The company, apparently of Volunteers, seems to have been named in honour of J.-Frédéric-Phelippeaux, Comte de Maurepas, 1701–81, Minister of Marine under Louis XV, and, after his exile, 1749–71, in office under Louis XVI. His name occurs more than once in the Heguerty-Walsh letters.

Digitized by Google

Enemy to leeward making the best of his way from us into the Bay of Biscay, but the small ship was not then in Company, when we first saw them they were standing to the westward, his lower deck guns were 24 pound shot and the rest about 12 pounders Do., we cut away the Mizen, Maintopsail, and one Main topmast steering sail to clear the ship, being all this morning employed in repairing the rigging and Damages of the ship.

H.M.S. LYON. CAPTAIN'S LETTER.

Lyon,
Plymouth Sound.
30th 1745.[1]

Honble Sir,

I beg you'll please to acquaint the Right Honble. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on Tuesday the 9th instant being in the Latitude of 47.57 N: and West from the Meridian of the Lizard 39 leagues, I saw two sail to leeward of me standing to the Westward close upon a wind. The wind was at N.N.W. I accordingly bore down to them, and by three in the afternoon I plainly saw they were two of the Enemy's ships. By four o'clock I was within two Miles of them, they then hoisted French colours, and shortened sail, one was a man of war 64 guns, and the other a small ship of sixteen guns. At 5 I ran alongside the man of war within Pistol Shot, and began to Engage. By six my Mizzen topmast was shot away and soon after that my mizzen Mast and Mizzen yard came

[1] Actually dated 'July 19, 1745' (O.S.).

Digitized by Google

down upon Deck. By eight o'clock the Quarter of my Main Yard, and foretop sail Yard Arm was shot away, and Maintop sail yard in the slings. By nine all my lower masts and top-masts were shot through in many Places, both Main Stays, all the Main Shrouds but two on the Larboard side, and one on the Starboards, The Braces, Bowlines, Topsail Halliards, Jeers, Lifts Tacks and Sheets all shot to pieces, so that I lay muzzled and could do nothing. The Enemy did not receive much Damage in his Masts and Yards, but his Hull must have suffered greatly. At 10 o'clock he sheered off, and as he was going I gave him a farewell with two of my four and twenty pounders, but he made no return, and in less than an Hour was out of sight, and my condition was such I could not follow him. The small ship in the beginning of the Engagement made two attempts to Rake me, but I soon beat him off with my stern chase. He did us little or no harm, and after that, lay off at a great Distance.

From the beginning to the end of the Engagement we kept a continual Fire at each other, about the Distance of Pistol Shot. The Lyon's Hull is very much shattered as well as her Masts, Yards, Rigging, two of my Guns dismounted, and the Palm of my best Bower Anchor shot away, Forty five of my Men killed and 107 Wounded, 7 have died of their Wounds since the Engagement. The next morning at Daylight I saw the Enemy to the Southward of me, making the best of his way to some Port in the Bay of Biscay, and as the small ship was not then in Company I imagine he proceeded on his Voyage to the Westward. It was near 24 hours after the Engagement before I was in a tolerable condition of

Digitized by Google

making Sail. Both my spare topmasts and yards were shot through in five or six Places, so that I had not one Mast or Yard to make use of, in the room of those that were Wounded and Shot to Pieces.

As my greatest Dependence during the Action lay in the Alertness of my Officers in their several Stations, I should be ungrateful if I did not beg leave to acquaint their Lordships, that they all behaved extremely well except the Captain of Marines, whom I have put under arrest, for skulking on the Poop, under cover of some Bags that were there, for the greatest part of the Engagement which encouraged most part of his Men to do the like, and when many of my Seamen were killed and wounded at their Guns, I sent two Petty Officers at Different times, to turn the Marines down to supply their Places, and both acquainted me with the Attitude of the Captain and one of his Corporals, whom he had Ordered to stay and bear him Company, I was not an Eye witness of his bad behaviour, else I should have treated him as he deserved for the Poop Ladder being Shot away, and myself Wounded, and very much bruised in one of my Arms with Splinters, rendered me incapable of climbing up [1] my Master lost his right arm in the beginning of the Engagement, my Lieutenants were all Wounded two Hours before it was over, but notwithstanding that, encouraged the Men at the Guns to the last, my first Lieutenant was so much Hurt, that he was obliged to be carried off by Nine o'clock, not being able to stand any longer.[1] The Enemy seemed to be full of men, and I daresay had

[1] Nicollière-Teijeiro records that Captain Brett was 'dangerously wounded' and, wrongly, 'perdit tous ses lieutenants' (*op. cit.*, p. 173).

Digitized by Google

many expert gunners, for he seemed to Place his Shot wherever he had a Mind. His lower tier were Brass, of 24 Pounders, his upper tier of 12 Pounders, and those on the Quarter Deck and Fore Castle 6 or 8 Pounders. As I was not so happy as to take him, I have only this satisfaction left, that I spoiled his Voyage, But if my behaviour should meet with their Lordships approbation, I shall think myself very Happy, and am with great respect,

Honourable Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

PEIRCY BRETT.

P.S. On the 12th instant I fell in with his Majesty's Ship the Augusta in the Latitude of 48.30 N. and 50 longitude S.W. from the Lizard who has kept me company as far as the Ramehead, where I parted with him, and am now plying into Plymouth Sound, and shall go into Hamoaze as soon as I can get a Pilot.

Inclosed is the State and Condition of his Majesty's Ship the Lyon.

N.B. The Corporal of Marines is confined as well as his Captain.

The Honourable Thos. Corbett, Esq.,—Admiralty Office.

The Master's log records fair weather for the passage to Plymouth. On 22nd July 'Bent a new foresail. Got the mainyard down. Tacked (8 A.M.). Rigged the Driver boom for a main-yard [1] and bent a MTS for a MS.' On the 23rd 'Got down the Maintopgallant mast, got the Cross Jack yard for a Maintopsail yard. Do.

[1] Nicollière-Teijeiro mentions the disablement of this spar ('grande vergue,' *op. cit.*, p. 173).

Digitized by Google

got down the foretopgallant mast.' On the 24th H.M.S. Augusta, 60, was met and lent four carpenters. The Lyon anchored in Cawsand Bay on the 30th, off Drake's Island next day, and on 1st August weighed and saluted the Port Admiral's flag.

In his Captain's letter of 18th July[1] Captain John Hamilton, commanding H.M.S. Augusta, reports off the Ramehead: 'On Friday the 12th inst.,[2] being in the Lat. of 48° 40′, 60 leagues S.W. by S. from the Lizard, I fell in with H.M.S. the Lion very much shattered in one engagement . . . and upon Captain Brett's representing to me that she was disabled in all her masts, and that a great number of his men were killed and wounded I thought it my duty to stay by her and see her into a port of safety.'

I am indebted to Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton for the following note on the misconduct of the Captain of Marines reported in Captain Brett's letter.

Finding and sentence of a court martial held on board the Duke in the Downs 10th September, 1745[3] to try Captain Henry Rufane, Captain of Marines on board H.M.S. Lion commanded by Captain Peircy Brett, for cowardice, and withdrawing himself from his duty, and enticing Edward Kane, his corporal, to do the like, during the engagement with a French man of war of 64 guns, and a small ship of 16 guns in the Lat. of 47° 15′ N. and W. from the meridian of the Lizard 39 leagues, on Tuesday the 9th day of July 1745. Guilty: falls under the 12th and 17th Articles of War. To be shot on the fore-

[1] 29th, N.S.

[2] So also Captain Brett's letter, while his log and his Master's log record the meeting under July 13 (24th N.S.), the latter entering it against 3 A.M.

[3] 21st, N.S.

Digitized by Google

castle of any of H.M. ships as the Admiral or Commander-in-Chief shall appoint.

The evidence showed that he hid behind some trusses of hay on the poop and refused to stir. The prisoner pleaded that he had been subject to fits all his life, and that his conduct was illness, not cowardice. 'It's well known I did my duty as well as any other officer of my rank the morning of the attack of Fort Lazar.' Signs 'Hary Rufain.' He was not shot but allowed to exile himself to Jersey, 22nd March, 1746.[1] Admiralty Minute: 'The King's pleasure is that Captain Henry Rufane condemned at a court martial to die for cowardice should be pardoned and set at liberty. Resolved that Vice-Admiral Stewart be ordered to set him at liberty accordingly.'

It seems odd that he should have been kept in custody for 6 months before being pardoned. The exile to Jersey is a curious feature of the matter: there is nothing about it in 'Parliamentary History,' 1745–46.

The action of four and a half hours was fought in a light wind and at close quarters[2] with great determination on both sides, though there was no attempt to board by either.

In the number of guns and perhaps also in weight of broadside the Elisabeth was superior to her opponent. In strength of crew the Elisabeth appears to have had a decided advantage: the 590 men of the anonymous pamphlet quoted by Nicollière-Teijeiro may be doubted, MacDonald's 'about 500 men' is perhaps nearer the truth: the Lyon's crew numbered 400. On the other

[1] 2nd April, N.S.

[2] Nicollière-Teijeiro speaks of 'décharges soutenues de son artillerie et de sa mousqueterie' from the Elisabeth (*op. cit.*, p. 172).

Digitized by Google

hand, the latter were superior in training. This was recognised by the spectators aboard the Du Teillay, for, as McDonald relates, 'the British sailors showed their superior skill and dexterity, which were highly praised by all on board the Doutelle, as well French as Scotch men; for though the Elisabeth had more men, yet they could not work her so well, nor fire so often as the Lion did.'[1] The Elisabeth's casualties exceeded her opponent's considerably.

Following the usual French practice the Elisabeth sought to cripple spars and rigging, which she did effectually, while the Lyon succeeded in wounding her opponent's hull so seriously that together with the great damage aloft no choice was left but an immediate return to port. As far as the ships go the affair was an indecisive duel, but its ulterior results were very important. The Elisabeth succeeded in her primary duty of distracting attention from the Du Teillay and thereby allowing the Prince to proceed to the Highlands, but the intervention of the Lyon really defeated the whole expedition, as it prevented the Prince from bringing with him the munitions carried by the Elisabeth and, perhaps more important still, his being joined by the military officers on whose assistance he was dependent for the conduct of his campaign when landed.[2] Captain Brett evidently paid but little

[1] *Lyon in Mourning*, i. p. 286.

[2] Nicollière-Teijeiro (*op. cit.*, p. 174) remarks that 'Ce glorieux combat fut donc un véritable désastre pour le prétendant, auquel il enleva une grande partie des secours en armes, en munitions et en officiers habiles qu'elle portait, et qui lui étaient si nécessaires.' The failure to land these officers in Scotland was no doubt a greater misfortune to the Prince's cause than the loss of the munitions, and was certainly one of the chief factors in bringing it to disaster.

Digitized by Google

attention to the Du Teillay[1]; what he would have done had he known the prize she carried, we cannot say. Supposing that he had attempted her capture at all costs, to deal successfully with the Elisabeth would have been a formidable task. It is unfortunate that an action on which so much depended can be described only so imperfectly. The Lyon's logs say nothing of manœuvring; what we know of this is from Durbé's hand; but it seems certain that in a fight lasting so many hours there were more changes of position than the three recorded by him. The loss of the Elisabeth's log is a matter for great regret. Durbé's journal is not very full, it is not an official log, but a private diary. At the same time, he writes at greater length on the action he witnessed than on any other events of the voyage which he carried through with such ability. He handled his ship well in dangerous proximity to a much superior enemy, he evaded the British cruisers sighted on two occasions, and landed the Prince and his suite and their munitions in safety, after which he sailed round north for Holland, on the way capturing and holding to ransom six British merchant vessels, and finally brought his ship into the Vly, landing his hostages at Ecluse and dismantling his ship for sale by the owner's orders.[2]

The encounter of the Elisabeth with the Lyon was soon noised abroad in the North, for

[1] Duncan Cameron reports that the Prince subsequently remarked to various friends in Scotland how lucky it was that the Lyon 'despised' the Du Teillay; she 'might have sunk her with the greatest ease' (*op. cit.*, p. 203).

[2] Durbé dates this order under 4–15th September (*Fam. Roy.*, p. 34). The records of the Inscription Maritime at Nantes contain 'un premier désarmement effectif à Amsterdam le 1er Juillet 1745,' which looks like an error of dating.

Digitized by Google

on August 30 Sir John Cope reported to the Marquis of Tweeddale ' it was said in the Country . . . that this small Vessell (*i.e.*, the Du Teillay) came out in company with a large man of war, who meeting with an English ship of force was so disabled as to be obliged to return '[1]; and the Duke of Argyll wrote to the Marquis three days later ' the current news of the country is that the said ship was convoyed by a sixty-gun ship from France; till westward from Ireland, a British man of war came up with them on the 8th July foresaid, and then a sharp engagement followed betwixt the two ships, till they were both disabled. The small French ship stood away from them to a great distance all the time of the fight. It was thought this was owing to her having the valuable cargo undermentioned. Next morning the small ship spoke with the big French ship and was told the latter had lost 200 men and that she was disabled to that degree that she would have enough to do to get home; so advised the small ship to proceed on her intended voyage.[2] The accuracy of this report is creditable to the Government's ' informers.'

News of the arrival of the Lyon in Plymouth had reached Scotland by 26th August, when Sir John Cope reported ' The vessell that brought them is gone.[3] This is the same that came with the ship the Lyon attacked.' [4]

[1] *P.R.O., State Papers, Domestic, Scotland*, 1745, B. 25, no. 54. Actually dated O.S., 19 August.

[2] *Ibid.*, B. 25, no. 61.

[3] The Du Teillay, with Anthony Walsh on board, sailed from Loch nan Uamh on the 19th for her privateering cruise which ended at Amsterdam (*Lyon in Mourning*, i. 293, and *Fam. Roy.*, pp. 30–34).

[4] *P.R.O., State Papers, Domestic, Scotland*, 1745, B. 25, no. 72.

Digitized by Google

In *The Mariner's Mirror*, x., 1925, there is reproduced with a note (pp. 92–93) an engraving by Parr from a picture by either Francis or Monamy Swaine, whose combined years of exhibition were 1762–1784, which has been generally supposed to represent the Lyon-Elisabeth action. Its only title is, however, 'Chase' and 'Chasse'; that the engraving represents the action is doubtful. There is much land in the background, which does not agree with the actual situation. On the other hand the chase is flying the French ensign and the pursuing vessel that of Great Britain, and both are two-decked. The note remarks: 'It is not possible to accept the engraving as authoritative on the rig of the two ships, but it is of interest that while the (supposed) Elisabeth carries a spritsail topmast with its sail, the Lyon is in the new fashion of the then "flying jibboom" and fore-and-aft head-sails above the sprit-sail. She is also setting staysails, which are not shown in the French ship.' The mention in Durbé's journal of the Elisabeth repeating a manœuvre of the Lyon which included hoisting the jib, the words of which have been quoted already, may not refer to handling the same sails, but only to the ship as a whole.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE CHANNEL FLEET IN 1779

LETTERS

OF

BENJAMIN THOMPSON

TO

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

BENJAMIN THOMPSON (better known to posterity as the scientist Count von Rumford) was born in Massachusetts in 1753, and came to England as the bearer of the despatch announcing the evacuation of Boston in 1776. Lord George Germain the Secretary of State dealing with American affairs, to whom the despatch was addressed, seems to have taken to him at once, and found him a post in his Department. In the summer of 1778, while staying at Lord George's country house at Stoneland, Thompson made some experiments in ballistics with the assistance of the Rector of Withyham. The object of these experiments was 'to determine the most advantageous situation for the vent in fire-arms, and to measure the velocities of bullets and the recoil under various circumstances,' and further measure 'the velocity of the inflammation' of powder and its explosive force.

When Sir Charles Hardy replaced Keppel in command of the Channel Fleet in 1779, an opportunity occurred for experiments on a larger scale, and Germain evidently arranged to send Thompson afloat in the Victory for this purpose. In his 'Account of some experiments upon Gunpowder' Thompson says that he had during the cruise 'many opportunities of attending to the firing of heavy cannon . . . as the men were frequently exercised at the great guns and in firing at marks,' and some of his friends in the Fleet, particularly Captains the Hon. Keith Stewart, Sir Charles Douglas, and Macbride, were kind enough to make a number of experiments for his benefit, with the result that he gained 'much new light relative to the action of fired gunpowder.' It is evident that he was afloat for the whole of the cruise, for in a letter dated 1781 concerning his design for a Frigate which was published in Stalkartt's *Naval Architecture*, he says :—'That curious and most important art

Digitized by Google

[Naval Architecture] has long been my favourite study, and several sea voyages, particularly a three months' cruise in the Channel Fleet under the command of the late Sir Charles Hardy in the year 1779, afforded me an opportunity of making many remarks upon the qualities of ships.'

On board the Victory, in which Thompson was serving as a 'volunteer,' there were two other volunteers, Count Molkt, a rear-admiral in the Danish Service, and his nephew, Count Wedel, a midshipman in the same. The Captain of the Victory was Henry Collins, Kempenfelt was Captain of the Fleet, and the Admiral's secretary was Peter Osborn.

The letters with one exception are addressed to Lord George Germain who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies. These are unsigned, and only one of them is initialled. Evidently Thompson was anxious that his identity should not be disclosed to any stranger who might read them. One letter, which is signed, is addressed to Thomas de Grey, who was at that time Germain's Under Secretary of State. In September 1780 Thompson succeeded to de Grey's post.

One might have expected that some of the letters, which must have been much more numerous than the few reproduced here, would have been preserved among the Sackville Manuscripts, but the only document of Thompson of this period recorded in the Historical Manuscripts Commission Calendar (*Sackville MSS.*, Vol. 2, p. 137) is an account of the transactions of the Fleet from the 17th to the 30th August 1779.

Some of Kempenfelt's criticisms upon the same events will be found in Vol. I of the *Letters of Lord Barham*. The strictures upon the indifferent manœuvring and signalling of the Fleet are no doubt well founded, but I fancy that the strategy was much better than Thompson thought.

The following diary will make the sequence of events more clear. For it, as for the opportunity to reproduce these letters, the Society is indebted to Captain A. H. Taylor, O.B.E., R.N.

W. G. P.

Digitized by Google

1779

June 16th. Hardy left St. Helen's to watch Brest. England declared war on Spain.

June 22nd. Hardy learnt, off Ushant, that the French Fleet left Brest on June 4th.

June 25th. Hardy returned off the Lizard, in accordance with his orders.

July 2nd. Hardy, off the Lizard, learnt that French Fleet was off Finisterre on June 10th.

July 3rd. Westerly gale.

July 6th. Hardy anchored in Torbay, short of water.

July 8th. Admiralty ordered Hardy to keep further to the westward, to prevent being driven into port.

July 14th. Hardy left Torbay.

July 21st. Hardy, off Ushant, heard that Spanish squadron from Corunna had joined the French Fleet on July 2nd, and that Cadiz Fleet was at sea.

Hardy returned to the Lizard; and thence, owing to westerly winds, to Plymouth.

July 23rd. Cadiz Fleet joins French Fleet off Finisterre.

July 29th. Admiralty sent Hardy new instructions, telling him to keep to westward of Scilly.

Hardy left Plymouth.

July 30th. Hardy picked up Leeward Is. convoy.

Aug. 1st. Hardy picked up Cork convoy.

Aug. 4th. Hardy learnt Combined Fleet was seen off Portugal on July 12th, steering N.

Aug. 6th. Hardy picked up Jamaica convoy.

Aug. 14th. Combined Fleet makes the Lizard.

Aug. 16th. Combined Fleet, off Plymouth, captured Ardent and chased Marlborough.

Aug. 17th. Combined Fleet off Torbay. Wind shifted to eastward and prevented it anchoring as intended.

Southampton reached Hardy, with first news of enemy. Hardy 66 m. S. 75 W. of Scilly.

Digitized by Google

Aug. 25th. Combined Fleet learnt that Hardy was off Scilly and not as supposed in Plymouth. Council of War abandons plan of invasion. Hardy 102 m. S.W. of Scilly.

Aug. 29th. 5 p.m. Cumberland, one of Hardy's lookouts, sighted a strange fleet to windward, S.E. Hardy 22 m. South of Scilly.

Aug. 30th. 4.15 a.m. Duke reports strange fleet west.
5 a.m. Hardy steers east. Wind veers to N.N.E., putting Hardy to windward.
5.30 p.m. Combined Fleet in sight only from masthead.

Aug. 31st. Combined Fleet discovered Hardy and chases. (There may be some confusion here about dates. Or the original force sighted by Hardy may have been victuallers from Brest.)

Sept. 1st. 5 a.m. A few ships visible to British Fleet from aloft.
11 a.m. On west-going stream making, Hardy anchored off Rame Head.

Sept. 2nd. Combined Fleet abandoned the chase.

Sept. 3rd. Hardy arrived at Spithead.

Digitized by Google

LETTERS OF BENJAMIN THOMPSON

THOMPSON TO GERMAIN

Victory, at sea, 20th July, 1779.

My dear Lord,—I can stand it no longer. Those who are interested in the disgrace of our Commander may laugh at our blunders, but I who do not feel those prejudices which are but too common in the profession am hurt beyond measure to find how little dependance is to be put in our skill in manœuvreing this great and respectable Fleet. I have this morning been put out of all manner of patience. You must know we never as yet had attempted but one simple manœuvre, and that is to draw the ships into a line of battle, one directly ahead of the other, and upon a signal to tack about all together. In this we never have succeeded. It has always been more than two hours before the ships ahead have got into their stations—the line has always been very crooked, and the ships at very unequal distances, and when we have come to put about confusion has commonly ensued, and we have been obliged to end our manœuvring abruptly by making the signal for the ships to return to their stations in the order of sailing. This has arisen sometimes from one cause, and sometimes from another, but I don't remember a single instance in which we have attempted to manœuvre when we did not make at least one evidently wrong and contradictory signal. I thought we might possibly succeed

Digitized by Google

better in divisions, and accordingly this morning after breakfast I contrived to hint this idea in the gentlest manner possible to the Admiral, Captain Kempenfelt being present. I received no answer, but about half an hour after the Captain came down and proposed the measure to the Admiral. It was very well, but how to give the necessary orders was the difficulty. The signals for the three divisions could not be made together—if the centre division was formed first that signal might then be hauled down and the signal for the Vice Admiral's Division to form might be made, and afterwards that of the Rear in the same manner. I saw in this way of proceeding the day would be much too short for the manœuvre. Capt. Kempenfelt was silent. The Admiral looked at him for some time without saying a word. I saw no kind of difficulty in the thing. The printed book of signals lay upon the table. I took it up, and turning over the leaves pointed with my finger to the following passage :—

'If at any time I would point out that the signals made, relate to a particular division of the fleet, I will signify the same as follows—

'If to the division of the Admiral commanding in chief'	A Dutch Flag with a Red Flag under it.	'To be hoisted where best seen.'
'If to the division of the Flag commanding in the second Post'	A Dutch Flag with a White Flag under it.	
'If to the division of the Flag post'	A Dutch Flag with a Blue Flag under it.	

and why not, (said I modestly) make the signal for the line of battle, and at the same time hoist the three signals for the three divisions in different

Digitized by Google

parts of the ship? They made me no answer. Capt. Kempenfelt went upon deck. The Admiral took his hat and followed him. I was neither surprised nor angry that my proposal was not taken notice of. Why should I expect that my advice should be taken when nobody's else in the ship, or in the fleet is either asked, or suffered? [1] In a few minutes I heard a gun, and going upon deck, saw a flag half blue, half white flying at the mizen peak, and a Dutch flag with a red flag under it at the mizen-top-mast head. This signal was soon repeated by all the flagships in the Fleet and their repeating frigates (as are all signals made by the Commander in chief). The Royal George was just upon our weather quarter. As she is always to lead our division in a line of battle ahead upon the starboard tack, it was expected she would make more sail in order to go ahead into her station. Instead of this she laid her sails aback and was preparing to hoist out a boat. The Admiral had the fidgets to a most violent degree. Capt. Kempenfelt, in a great passion, called out to the Lieutenant who had the watch to hail the Peggy cutter, and order her to go alongside the Royal George and desire Sir John Ross to make sail and go ahead into his station. The Admiral, not willing to hurt Sir John's feelings too much by a public reprimand, or perhaps from some other motive, altered the order by giving directions for the master of the cutter to *go on board* the Royal George and tell Sir John Ross that he was out of his station. Happily the Peggy was not within hail, and the signal was obliged to be made to bring her to the Victory. This took up time and before she could come up with us we found out!—

[1] Kempenfelt makes the same complaint (*Letters of Lord Barham*, i. 293).

Digitized by Google

that instead of a signal for a line of battle ahead we had made a signal for *the weekly returns of the ships of the Admiral's division.* The Admiral was in Capt. Kempenfelt's cabin when the discovery was made or rather when the laugh became general upon the quarter deck. At that moment I would have given all I was worth in the world to have been at Stoneland, or anywhere else but on board the Victory. To paint my feelings would be totally impossible. To see those one is living with upon the most friendly footing a subject of derision to the whole world is really very painful. I was happy however that the Peggy had not received her orders, and the first thing to be done was to inform the Admiral of the mistake. This nobody would undertake. There was no time to be lost and I determined to do it myself. I accordingly plucked up courage and went into Capt. Kempenfelt's cabin, but I found the Admiral and the Captain so busy looking over the signal book together that I did not dare interrupt them. I went again upon deck and prevailed upon Captain Collins to do the business. The best thing to have done would have been to have stood by the signal as it was and received the weekly returns. Instead of this the Union Jack was hoisted above the Flag at the mizen peak, and the line was at length formed.[1] The signals for the other divisions to form was afterwards made

[1] The Union at the Mizen Peak was the old signal for the line of battle; the blue and white flag under it was a recent modification and indicated that the ships were to be at only half cable distance apart. The latter flag by itself in the same position was the signal for returns of the state and condition of the ships, instituted by Boscawen in 1759. The purport of the accompanying signal is given above. It was, or ought to have been, the duty of Kempenfelt to see that signals were properly made.

Digitized by Google

and obeyed, and by the time night came on we had the Fleet in three tolerable lines ready for manœuvering. The signal was made to form the order of sailing, and the lines were broken, and thus ended the manœuvrings of the day. Though there was not an officer in the fleet who did not see the blunder we made, yet there was not a ship of our division which did not send in her weekly account. It was curious to see the stifled grin of the Lieutenant as he gave these to Capt. Kempenfelt, and the spiteful manner in which the latter snatched them out of his hand.

But I am afraid, my dear Lord, that I shall tire you with the length of this epistle—I am still more afraid that I shall distress you with these melancholy accounts of our proceedings. Don't be discouraged. It has been by our bravery and not our discipline we have ever conquered, and be assured there never was a braver set of men existing than our present Sea Commanders. If we can fairly get alongside our enemies I shall not fear for the consequences, but I know if we attempt to manœuvre in sight of our foes we are ruined. Mais heureusement, en cela, notre Amiral n'est pas pedant.

We have had the winds at west and westerly ever since we have been at sea, and we are now just about half way between Ushant and Scilly. The day before yesterday I cruised almost out of sight of the fleet in the Peggy Cutter, but saw nothing but some Dutchman who I spoke with but got no news. This vessel I am to have when I please to go by myself in quest of news and adventures. When I am on board I command her, and the last cruise the Hon^ble. Mr. Finch, one of our Lieutenants and Mr. Hardy did me the honour to accompany me as volunteers. The

Digitized by Google

interest that is making among the gentlemen of the Victory for leave to go with me next cruise is incredible. This Cutter carries eight small guns besides some swivels and small arms, and is manned with 14 men and boys. You won't be surprised if you hear one of these days of my being taken prisoner and carried into Brest, but there is little danger of this as the Peggy sails faster than anything in the fleet except the Milford frigate—but she greatly to my mortification the other day beat us. Adieu! there is an opportunity present of sending my letter to England and I must finish. Sir Charles continues to load me with civilities and I am a favourite with the whole fleet. I came near being tried by a Court Martial the other day for only asking leave to pay Keith Stewart a short visit. Adieu. Remember me to all those I love, and believe me ever most affectionately yours.

P.S. The Wolf sloop sails this moment. Tell my worthy and much esteemed friend De Grey that I will certainly write him by the next opportunity.

Adieu.

THOMPSON TO DE GREY

Victory, at Sea,
Saturday, 24th July, 1779.

My dear Sir,—I certainly should have had the pleasure of writing to you before, but no opportunity has offered of sending a letter to land since we have been at sea; two days ago the Wolf sloop was ordered to Plymouth but as I had notice of it but a few minutes before it was said she was to sail I only had time to write a few lines to Lord George, and to make an apology for not

Digitized by Google

writing to you by that conveyance, but a storm of wind coming on, (and which has lasted almost ever since) prevented her leaving the fleet and affords me the opportunity I now have of sending another letter by her, which opportunity, be assured my dear Sir, I embrace with real pleasure.

As I cannot flatter myself with being able to send you an amusing letter, I wish at least I was able to give you a comforting one, but we have been very unlucky since we have been at sea this last time; the winds have constantly been unfavourable, and we never have been able to reach our proper station, nor even to get further westward than the Lands End. The late gale of wind has driven us so far to leeward that I much doubt whether we are now further west than Plymouth, but we shall soon see where we are, as we are standing in for the land with all the sail we can crowd. Many of our ships have suffered from the storm, and some of them materially. The Berwick and the Terrible have each of them lost their main top-masts, and we much fear the Berwick's main mast is so much damaged as to render it unfit for service. A survey is ordered upon it. I expect every moment to hear she is ordered into Port. If you hear we have all followed her you must not be surprised. You must indeavour to persuade the world that it is the fault of the winds—but confidentially, between you and me, I wish they only were in fault. I know you are my friend, and that you are cautious. I therefore can venture to speak freely and without reserve. To let you into a secret then, I am by no means satisfied with our proceedings. We act as if we did not mean to go fairly out to sea; we hang about our ports as if we were unwilling to lose sight of them. In short, it appears to me plainly

Digitized by Google

that we are happy when we have an excuse to return, and do not do our utmost to obey our orders, and get upon our station off Brest. I will not attempt to assign a reason for this conduct, but I can assure you it is reprobated by every Captain in the fleet. Though we are not so numerous as report makes our enemies yet I have no doubt but we shall be superior to any line of battle that can be formed against us. Perhaps the world cannot produce 34 such fine ships as Sir Charles Hardy has now under his command—three first-rates—six that carry 98 guns, and the Foudroyant which is nearly equal to either of them, besides 21 ships of 74 guns, and 3 of 64. Frigates we certainly do not want, and almost every one of our ships have more men than their complement. We are healthy to a wonder, and our people wish for nothing more ardently than to be laid fairly alongside the Dons and mountseers. I cannot say much for our discipline, or our skill in manœuvring, but then the determined bravery of both our officers and seamen will in a great measure make amends for these deficiencies. Britons have ever owed their victories more to their undaunted courage than to their skill, and if we once get within gun-shot of our enemies we will make them once more feel a superiority which they have ever acknowledged.

It has of late been confidently reported in the fleet that our Admiral is soon to be superseded and I have been offered bets that he is recalled immediately if he should go into Port again without orders. You can best tell what foundation there is for these reports, and all I have to say (and I am sure it cannot be treason to say it) is that if he is recalled I hope a better will be sent out.

Digitized by Google

5 o'clock p.m.

The whole fleet is just now standing directly in for Plymouth Sound. Whether we shall anchor there or not I cannot tell, but I rather think we shall, as I know the Admiral means to hover upon the coast till he shall receive fresh orders, on account of the intelligence received of the whole Spanish fleet being seen off Cape Finisterre. Adieu, my dear Sir. I shall take the liberty of writing to you whenever anything interesting occurs, and when business will permit you to give your friends the pleasure of hearing from you, I shall be particularly happy in being remembered by you.

I beg you will present my best respects to Lord George, when you see him, and that you do me the justice to believe that I really am with perfect regard and esteem,

My dear Sir,

Your much obliged and most faithful,

B. THOMPSON.

Thos. de Grey Esq.

THOMPSON TO GERMAIN

Fountain Inn, Plymouth Dock,
Monday morning 10 o'clock.
[? 26 July 1779.]

My dear Lord,—The very long epistle which I forwarded by the express will probably reach you some time before this letter comes to your hands. What I wrote you yesterday I can scarcely tell. I had not time to read over my letter, if I had, perhaps I never should have sent it—though I feel that I wrote nothing but truth, and that from the purest motives, yet I don't know how it is, but I have not had a quiet mind since. It is not guilt—I can have no motive to deceive you—Is it that it looks too much like ingratitude to

Digitized by Google

Sir Charles Hardy? I believe in my conscience it is. He has really been very good to me; he always treats me with a friendly attention that nobody else but myself experiences—and though obstinate in his nature and positive to a degree, he often gives way to my little wishes. If I want a cutter to go a-cruising in, or to take a sail for my diversion, he always grants my request with a smile, and what is still a stronger mark of his partiality he trusts his young son, who he is distractedly fond of, to my care. In short he refuses me nothing but leave to quit the Victory, which he will not hear of, though Capt. Stewart, as well as others have made great interest to borrow me, as they are pleased to call it. It was with some difficulty I got leave to come ashore, and when I quitted him he gave Capt. Stewart many injunctions to take care of me and not let me desert, and told him that he was answerable for my returning with him to the fleet. In short, my dear Lord, the Admiral is *very* good to me. I eat at his table, and enjoy more of his confidence than anybody else in the fleet. Am I capable of doing a base, an ungenerous action? Have I been guilty of such an action in writing what I have written to you? I think not, but yet I don't feel easy in my mind. But am I not bound by every tie to give you my ideas *nette* just as I conceive them, of everybody and everything? And I call God and Heaven to witness that it gives me pain when I tell you that I think Sir Charles Hardy is not a fit person to command this great fleet at this time. It is evidently against my interest that anybody else should be sent out to supersede him—and possibly nobody else could be found, and then my letters will only serve to distress you. Tell me if you would have me hold my tongue

Digitized by Google

and I will be silent. Tell me if it struck you that I did wrong in writing as I did in my last letter, I mean if it appeared to you as an ungenerous act, for I long to know your sentiments upon that point. If you are afraid to write *out* upon the subject for fear of accidents, I will understand half a word but pray let me hear from you at any rate. I reckon that we shall leave this place in about 6 days, but your letters directed to the care of Evan Nepean Esqr., Secretary to Lord Shuldham [1] will always find me, or otherways through the Admiralty as formerly settled.

I cannot finish this letter without giving you an account of a conversation I had with the Admiral three days ago. It will give you a better notion of his ideas of carrying on the war than I can do in any other way. Being alone with him in the Stern Gallery of the Victory I asked him this plump question—Granting the intelligence of the Cadiz Squadron being at Cape Finisterre to be true,[2] and that they form a junction with the French what measures do you think it would be best to pursue with regard to this fleet? *Answer:* I don't know what measures Ministers mean to adopt, but for my own part in my own private opinion I think the fleet had much better be in Port; part of them at Plymouth and the rest at Spit Head, and be kept in constant readiness to put to sea, whenever the alarm of an invasion, or the appearance of the French and Spanish fleet in the Channel shall make it necessary. The ships by these means may always be kept clean and fit for action; the wear and tear of the fleet will be nothing in comparison of what it would if the fleet was kept cruising; and what is of still greater

[1] Vice Admiral: C. in C., Plymouth.

[2] This places the date of the letter after 23rd July.

Digitized by Google

moment, the men by being plentifully supplied with fresh beer, beef and vegetables might be kept healthy. I ventured to make one objection to this system which was that possibly we might be attacked when it might not be easy to form a junction of the two divisions of the fleet from Plymouth and Portsmouth and that we might be beaten in detail. To this he made answer, that we might always have frigates cruising in the mouth of the Channel, who would bring us intelligence of the appearance of an enemy time enough to collect our force, and that the same wind which would bring a fleet into the Channel would carry the Plymouth ships to Spit Head. I confess I did not understand this reasoning any more than I approved of his plan, but somebody coming in to interrupt us, put an end to the conversation, and I never have had an opportunity since of renewing it.

One thing I have learnt, which is, that he means to take as small a share of responsibility upon himself as possible. When we received the news by the Levant frigate of the Spanish fleet being at sea he instantly bore away—how far his orders will justify that step I will not pretend to say. When he sent off his despatches to the Admiralty he was just off this Harbour. He told me that it was very necessary for the ships to go into Port to refit and complete their supplies of beer and water. That he had written to the Admiralty for leave to do so and had besides written a private letter '*to Sandwich*'[1] strongly recommending the measure. If our fleet cannot keep the sea more than a fortnight without coming into Port for beer and water they must be but ill supplied at first, and this must be the fault of

[1] First Lord of the Admiralty.

Digitized by Google

somebody or other. But granting the fact, if it was necessary to get an additional supply of these articles why not go into Port at once, and *justify* the measure, afterwards, instead of spending a week in sending to London for leave, and making the Ministry responsible for a measure, which he had but too much reason to think would make a clamor in the nation. If he had behaved like a man, and put into Plymouth immediately upon his arrival off the coast, he might have provided everything his ships can want, and have been ready to put to sea again long before the messenger can return from London. But every step he takes clearly proves to me that he does not mean to quit his hold of English ground, and that nothing but the most positive orders will ever carry him fairly off Brest. He means to procrastinate as long as he can and when he is obliged to act he will make Ministers responsible for the consequence if he fails.

But I must make an end. I dine to-day with Lord Shuldham, and to-morrow with Mr. Lloyd.[1] Captain Stewart is gone to Plymouth (Town) upon business, and as it is a fine day I will go and take a walk in the country. Adieu, my dear Lord. If you judge of my gratitude and attachment by the number and length of my letters, I shall be in no pain for fear you should not do justice to my feelings.

Pray remember me to all my friends at Stoneland, and believe me ever,

Most affectionately Yours.

Particularly give my compliments to my good friend Mr. de Grey.

[1] Perhaps John Lloyd, the Clerk of the Checque at Plymouth Yard.

Digitized by Google

Berwick, Thursday, 5th August.

I return you many thanks, my dear friend, for your letter. I found it on my return to the Victory the day before yesterday and I understand it perfectly. The Die indeed is cast, and for your comfort I can tell you I am not afraid to stand the consequences. We are brave, we are individually determined, and what is more, we are really formidable from the number and magnitude of our ships. I could wish indeed, but what signifies wishing? If we beat our enemies is it not enough? Tis true our Admiral would gain more credit if we obtained a victory in consequence of a fine disposition and a well timed attack, but on the other hand, the undaunted bravery of our true British tars never appears to more advantage than in a close fight, where little manœuvering is necessary and where the contest is soon decided.

Friday Morning.

I yesterday paid a visit to the Victory where I stay'd to dine and drink tea. The Admiral, as usual received me in the kindest manner possible and seem'd really sorry that I was not come to stay. I promised to return home soon, and to remain with him the rest of the cruise.

As Count Molkt and his nephew were gone to dine with Sir John L. Ross (where I was also invited), and Mr. Osborn employed in making out the orders for altering the disposition of the ships in the line, I had a good deal of time alone with the Admiral. He has received no intelligence of the French or Spanish fleet later than the accounts which came by the Levant frigate. Captain Johnstone in the Romney of 50 guns and the Cormorant sloop joined us the day before yesterday. He came upon hearing from a Danish vessel

Digitized by Google

which he spoke at sea that the Cadiz Squadron was seen the 12th ulto. off the Coast of Portugal standing to the northward. He says everything is ready upon the coast of France for invading us, and he is so firmly persuaded that we shall very soon see the combined fleet off the Channel, that he yesterday made a bet with Captain Stewart of ten guineas that we shall have an action within a week. Pray Heaven he may win, for I am really heart-sick of dawdling, and to confess another truth I begin to be not a little home-sick. If anything spirited was going on it would be something to amuse one, but to be standing on and off Plymouth from one week's end to another is really very tiresome. It is now just 10 o'clock in the morning and the fleet is just abreast of the Start Point, which is only 6 or 7 leagues to westward of Torbay. The land is in sight and we are standing directly down Channel with the wind a little to the eastward of the north, that is to say, perfectly fair to carry us upon our station. Pray God that the wind may continue, and that we may continue to lay our heads to the westward. You will doubtless wonder how we came to be so far to the eastward, especially when I tell you that the wind has been fair for these last 24 hours and that 24 hours ago we were some leagues further to the westward than we are at present. Perhaps some of my former letters may help you to an explanation of this seeming riddle, but I will nevertheless tell you *how* it happened. Upon the Formidable &c. joining us it became necessary to make some new arrangements of our line of battle, and yesterday was chosen to distribute to the fleet the necessary orders. Soon after I got on board the flag ship, which was about 2 o'clock p.m., the Victory's main top-sail was laid aback and at the

Digitized by Google

same time the signal was made for all cruisers to return to the fleet, and another signal for the ships of the fleet to close round the Admiral. The former of these signals was soon obeyed, and the latter also except by the three line of battle ships which were ahead of the fleet to look out. They thought, I suppose, that the signal could not be meant to extend to them, and therefore instead of coming in they laid-to where they were. This wholly disconcerted our plan. It was easy by making the ships private signals to call them in—this measure was proposed, but rejected. Much time was lost waiting to see if they would not return of themselves. It grew to be too late to issue the orders. We made sail about sunset and stood on. At 4 o'clock this morning we were alarmed by the appearance of a Fleet of 50 sail of ships in the N.E., that is, between us and the land, and to leeward. We soon saw that they were merchant ships standing up Channel. The Admiral tacked about and stood after them, and we all followed. We continued to follow them 'till 9 o'clock this morning when we tacked again, and stood to the westward. This accounts for our being so far to the eastward. The strange fleet was the Jamaica Convoy. Some of our frigates spoke to them, but I cannot tell what news they bring us.

But I must finish my letter. One of our Victuallers is going to the land, and I see the signal for letters is now flying on board the Victory. Adieu! pray, pray, let me hear from you, and believe me ever,

Most faithfully Yours.

Digitized by Google

Portsmouth, Saturday evening,
4th September, 1779.

I return you ten thousand thanks, my dearest friend, for your kind letter by Mr. Osborn. It has given a new spring to my drooping spirits, and I feel quite a new man from what I was an hour ago. I am now sure we shall yet be victorious. You must forgive my feelings upon our late retreat, indeed I could not help being hurt at seeing a fleet run away which I had imagined was equal to anything and which two days before I was persuaded would have attacked anything they had met with; besides you know the excessive warmth of my temper, and that must be an excuse for me. The disappointment and murmurings of the common sailors when they saw we bore away did not a little serve to irritate me, and the conversation of many of my friends in the fleet has not served to reconcile me to what I cannot yet help calling a disgrace. But your letter my dear Lord has done more to put me in spirits and good humour again than all the world besides could have done. As I have no prejudices nor predilections, I am easy to be convinced and converted, and your opinion I can always rely on much more than my own, especially where my passions are concerned. I now begin to think that our Admiral has acted a very *prudent*, if not a spirited part, and I shall go on board the Victory to-morrow in high good humour. I have already sent him an extract of your letter which I am sure he will be much flattered with. Indeed my dear friend he is a worthy good man, and I respect and love him from my heart. I am sure if I did not I should be the most ungrateful man alive for he is as kind and attentive to me as it is possible to be. And though he is sometimes a little positive, he is good

Digitized by Google

natured to a fault, and it would make you die with laughing to see him kick my hat about the deck, and attempt to be facetious and playful. He certainly pays me more attention than anybody else in the fleet, and I am sure it would give him real pain if I was to leave him and go into any other ship. No, I will stay with him to the last, and see it out, and be of all the use to him that I can. I will speak comfortably to him and indeavour to spirit him up to an opinion of our own strength, and to a bold and manly attack of our enemies. My conversation may serve to counteract the croakings of some persons about him who deserve a halter for what they have already done to poison his mind, by attempting to persuade him that it would be madness to come to action at any rate while the enemy continue superior in the *number* of their ships. They even went so far as seriously to advise him to endeavour to get into Port, (when he was off Scilly) by going round about by the Islands of Orkney. What punishments do not such dastards deserve? Kempenfelt is a brave, good, sensible officer, and I respect him much, but there are those in the Admiral's family that I detest and despise. Count Molkt and Count Wedel are my particular friends.

I give you joy of the safe arrival of the Blenheim and Bienfaisant who both came into this port to-day from Plymouth. They tell us that the French are busy taking out stores, provisions, &c. from the fleet of victuallers which has just joined them. From our late intelligence it seems almost certain that it was this fleet which we fell in with on Sunday last and took for the combined fleet. They consisted of 27 sails of transports, and a large hospital ship, under convoy of 4 frigates, and were looking for the enemy's

Digitized by Google

fleet which had been driven out of the Channel to the westward by the easterly winds. What a pity it is that they escaped us!

There is one circumstance that attended our late *manœuvre* (as you are pleased to call it) which will be an advantage to us in future, and that is it proved to us that we sail infinitely better than the French and Spaniards, and this will inspire us with confidence. It is amazing how we left them astern in the course of two or three hours—indeed some of them sailed well, particularly two frigates, who had the impudence to come between us and the land when we were off the Dodman, quite abreast of the centre of our fleet, and carry off a little sloop almost within gun shot of the Victory, and in plain sight of, and to the sore displeasure of the whole fleet. They came on with their French colours flying till they were almost mixed in with our ships. They then hoisted one of them a white, and the other a blue English ensign, and one of them fired a gun as if to bring the poor little sloop too, to speak with her, and as she was standing directly for our fleet she was fairly decoyed, and run directly into the mouths of those Frenchmen notwithstanding all we could do by firing guns, hoisting colours &c. to prevent it. As soon as she had got between them both the frigates hauled down their English colours and hoisted French, and we saw them hoist out their boats and go on board her. And they afterwards made sail and carried her off in triumph. I observed their motions the whole time they were about this business, and I thought I should have run mad with vexation.

What do you think of my dispatch to the Admiralty, my dear Lord? You see it was sent after all, just as I prepared it. I think it will prove

Digitized by Google

to you one of two things, that is, that the Admiral felt bolder on Sunday than he afterwards did on Tuesday, or that he signed it merely to please me,[1] without considering the consequences of giving you so much reason to expect a spirited conduct on his part. I wish he would let me write all his dispatches, please God I would dip him so deep that it should be impossible for him to be off from beating the French.

I had intended this day to have sent you a proposal for carrying on a speedy communication of intelligence from one end of the sea coasts of the Channel to the other, and from any and every part of it to London with a velocity that shall surprise you. I shall undertake by means of signal flags properly disposed upon the heights along the coasts, and from Portsmouth to London, to convey to you in the space of five minutes the most accurate account of every ship that is seen upon the coast, the place where she is seen and the course she is steering; and the same of a fleet of ships, their numbers and whether they are friends or foes—and all this with not much expense. Ten signal flags at each stand will be quite sufficient to make as many signals as will be found necessary (as with this number of flags may be made more than 200 separate and distinct signals) and the stands need not be nearer together than 15 or 20 miles. As we are now going to beat the French I suppose nothing of this sort will be necessary, but if an invasion was expected, or if

[1] There is no dispatch in the records that seems to answer this description, and none between 12th Aug. and 1st Sept., whereas the reference to Sunday seems to indicate one about 29th Aug. That of 1st Sept. ends 'The Combined Fleet is now in the S.E.—I shall do my utmost to draw them up Channel.'

Digitized by Google

we should not be successful in driving the Combined Fleet out of the Channel, I should think it would be well worth while to establish such a chain of signal posts as I have described. If you like the idea, and I think it can be carried into effect, I will send you my plan at large properly digested, and so plain that any person of the most moderate capacity shall be able perfectly to comprehend it and put it in practice.

I made a mistake, more than a thousand signals may be made with ten flags, instead of 200.

I have so much pleasure in chatting with you in this familiar manner, that when I set myself down to write I never know when to finish. I hope you take up my letters at your leisure instead of your book, and when you are tired of them you lay them down with as little ceremony as you would a newspaper. I intend to continue to write however without mercy 'till I shall receive a check, and you well know what the consequences of that would be. Adieu ! my dear good friend. Give my best regards to all who you know are dear to me, and believe me ever most sincerely yours.

As in all probability we shall not sail before Tuesday or Wednesday, I shall hope once more to hear from you before I leave this place. Adieu.

Victory, Saturday evening,
[11th September, 1779.]

My dear Lord,—I designed to have written to you by to-night's post, but the Admiral coming on shore to dine with Sir Samuel Hood pressed me into his service and I was obliged to attend him as his Aid de Camp. We are just come on board, and 'till supper I shall devote my time to the most

Digitized by Google

agreeable of all occupations, that of writing to my best of friends.

I had a long conversation this morning with our good Admiral as [we] walked round the town of Portsmouth arm in arm, and most of the time there was nobody by to interrupt our discourse. Many of our ships yet remain to be supplied with water, and the common watering place is so much drained that lighters have been sent to Southampton river to fetch from thence that very necessary article. This must impede our supplies very essentially. Many other articles are also wanting, so much so that I don't think it possible for the whole fleet to be ready for sea before the end of the next week. That is to say, if we wait for everything we want, and if we go on as slowly as we hitherto have done in getting our supplies on board. We were this day joined by three frigates from the eastward, and the Ajax, which has been coppered, went out of dock this morning.[1] We yet hear nothing of the Edgar. There has been a survey of the Blenheim, and she is reported to be so bad and so badly manned as to make it dangerous for her to go to sea, but she nevertheless will go with us when we sail, and if it comes on bad weather she has orders to make the best of her way into the nearest port she can find. The Arrogant is also said to be in a very bad condition but in fair weather, and for an action she may do very well. I am afraid they will find it difficult to procure *good* men for the Ajax. She is really a very fine ship, to all appearance, and I wish Lord Sandwich had thought proper to have given her to the gallant Capt. Raynor, and allowed him to take the crew of the beastly Isis with him. This ship so manned would have been a very

[1] This dates the letter.

Digitized by Google

important addition to our Fleet. The Sandwich of 90 guns is ready for coppering, and the Barfleur is also in dock repairing. I am told both of these ships will be ready for sea before winter. The former is a most beautiful ship and sails remarkably well, and the latter when she comes out of dock will be by no means the worst three decker in the Fleet. These ships with the Ocean will augment the number of our first and second rates to 15 ships. This I believe is at least twice the number that both France and Spain together can possibly put to sea. The French have 14 ships of 64 guns under the orders of Monsr. D'Orvilliers, we have only 4 in Europe. More than three fourths of the Spanish ships carry no more than 70 guns, and many of them 60 only. We have 25 seventy-four-gun-ships in our line, and several others in great forwardness. We shall grow stronger every day—our enemies have arrived at their *ne plus ultra*. The fleet under the command of Sir Charles Hardy consists of upwards of 90 sails.

The great question at this moment is this—shall we put this fleet to sea, at this season of the year, when the Equinoxial gales are every day expected, without first knowing for a certainty that we shall find our enemies at sea?

Sunday morning.

Without entering into a detail of all the arguments pro and con, that may arise from the foregoing question, I shall state to you in the most concise manner possible what I should think ought to be done, and what would be the probable consequences of pursuing the measures I shall propose.

Digitized by Google

We have now two frigates cruising between the Lizard and the Start, and one cruising off Portland. The Combined Fleet most probably is in Brest Harbour, where they will winter. (It is one very principal article in the agreement between the Courts of Madrid and Versailles that the two fleets once combined shall never be separated till peace is made. This may be relied on as a certain fact. It comes to me through the channel of one of the foreign ministers at our Court.) The Spanish ships by all accounts are in so bad a condition that they will scarcely venture to keep the sea during the Equinoxial season, and we may be assured that the French will not come out without them. But there is no doubt but they will have many cruisers at sea, to protect their own trade, and intercept ours. There is a large body of troops upon the coast of France ready for action. They have hitherto been disappointed in their designs, but I think your suspicions perfectly well founded, that they will play at small games rather than not play at all. It is of ten times the importance to us to keep Jersey and Guernsey now that it ever was. The disgrace of losing those islands added to what we have already suffered, would be too much for the ministers or the nation to bear. It would serve to lower both very much in the eyes of Europe.

If we send only a few scattering frigates to cruise in the Channel, or off Scilly, they will be picked up by the large ships which the French will send out for that purpose. It is their system to send out little squads of two or three swift sailing line of battleships as cruisers. It is undoubtedly a very sensible plan—let us improve upon it.

Let Sir John Ross be sent out *immediately* with

Digitized by Google

a squadron under his command, composed of the following ships :—

7 of our swiftest sailing coppered 74-gun ships with the flag aboard one of them.

The Bienfaisant, Capt. Macbride, a remarkable swift sailing 64-gun ship, coppered. Capt. Macbride is a brave, *active*, officer—the best pilot for the Channel in the service and a great friend of Sir John Ross's. He has been into Brest repeatedly.

The Jupiter, Capt. Raynolds—a coppered 50.

The Apollo, of 32 guns—Capt. Pownall—coppered, and the fastest sailing ship in the service.

3 other swift sailing coppered 32-gun frigates.

2 frigates of 28 guns, and

4 of our swiftest sailing cutters.

Let this squadron be ordered to proceed down Channel with all possible expedition, spreading as much as possible, so as not to separate, and speaking everything they shall see to get intelligence. If they do not meet with the enemies fleet before they get abreast and 12 leagues to the southward of Scilly, and do not hear of their being to the westward ; and especially if they should have reason to believe that the Combined Fleet is in Brest, after sending an express to land with an exact account of all the intelligence they have been able to collect, let Sir John be directed to dispose of his fleet in the following manner : Let him place himself, with four of his heaviest sailing 74-gun ships, and two cutters just in the middle of the Channel, half way between the Lizard and the Isle of Ushant, and here let him remain as much as possible stationary. Let one 74-gun ship and a 28-gun frigate (in company) between the

Digitized by Google

Admiral's station and the Lizard, and let the two other 74-gun ships with 2 thirty-two gun frigates, and a cutter cruise between the Admiral's station and Ushant. Let the Bienfaisant and Jupiter, Apollo and Milford frigates and Kite cutter hover round the Island of Ushant, and off Brest Harbour, in the day time, always standing off in the night towards the Admiral, and giving him any intelligence they have been able to pick up. The two remaining frigates and the fourth cutter might cruise in a line from Scilly 'till they brought Ushant in sight, with orders to make the best of their way to the Admiral if attacked by superior force, or if they should pick up any material intelligence. In case of separation by a storm let all the ships rendezvous off the Lizard, but if they should be dispersed by a superior enemy let them be directed to make the best of their way to the Start, and if still pursued, to go on to Spithead, but this is a case that can scarcely happen.

The Admiral keeping in his station half way between Ushant and the Lizard, any of his ships that are attacked by superior force will know where to retire for protection, and the enemy following them, will be very likely to be drawn into a scrape from which they may find it difficult to extricate themselves. The chain of communication between the Lizard and Ushant will be so well connected that no ship can pass up the Channel without being seen, and much less a fleet of ships, and nothing can escape without being spoken to. The trade between Morlaix and the coast of Normandy, and Brest will be cut off. Any frigates we may send to cruise for the protection of Jersey and Guernsey will be covered. Our own trade, as well foreign as domestic will be protected. Our Privateers will be encouraged

Digitized by Google

to venture even beyond our cruisers, being sure to find protection in their rear, and the French West India trade will suffer. We shall have the best and earliest intelligence of every movement of the enemy, by the line of direct communication between Brest and our own shores, and our cruisers (of the little flying detachment) might frequently take a peep into Brest water. If we were as cunning as our enemies, we might have many of the Dutchmen and Danes in our interest, who are daily going in and out of Brest, in the course of their trade. The great disadvantage of employing spies is, they are apt to *carry* as well as *fetch*. In this case they could have nothing to tell, as they should not be allowed to see anything except one or two ships, and they would know nothing of our real force and disposition. Our own ships even, need not be let into the whole of the secret. The private signal for our ships to know each other by should be kept an inviolable secret. It should be different for different days and should be delivered to the Captains sealed up, with strict orders not to open it but upon the day when it shall be wanted, and to destroy them if they should be so unfortunate as to be taken. Some think that the loss of the Ardent [1] was owing to the enemy having our private signal—however that may be, it is sure that they had it, and many of our ships came very near being decoyed into their hands by that means.

If the enemy should come out in force to attack us, from the position of our ships we should at all times be able to collect in a short time, and from the superior swiftness of our ships, we never need to be in a hurry to make our retreat, and as

[1] She mistook the Combined Fleet for British when coming out of Torbay on 16th August.

Digitized by Google

we should have the Channel open to us in the rear, our cutters may in a very short time carry information of our situation to the fleet at Spithead, and if the wind should be contrary, account might go overland.

But I must leave the rest of my plan to another opportunity. The boat goes this moment to shore with the letters.

Adieu !

Yours most sincerely,

B. T.

Digitized by Google

NARRATIVE OF THE ENGAGEMENT

BETWEEN

THE BRUNSWICK AND LE VENGEUR

ON THE 1ST OF JUNE 1794
BY OFFICERS BELONGING
TO HER IN THAT ACTION

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE two narratives printed below appear to have been written by Rowland Bevan, the second Lieutenant of the Brunswick, and William Gage Kemble, the third Lieutenant. Extracts from them appeared in the Memoir of Captain John Harvey in the third volume of the *Naval Chronicle* (1800), and it would seem that they were intended for, or at any rate used by, Nicholas Pocock in painting two pictures of this action, one of which is reproduced in that volume. The manuscript from which they have been printed seems to be a contemporary or nearly contemporary copy of the originals.

The circumstances of this episode were much distorted at the time in the erroneous account which Barrère communicated to the French Convention, in which he alleged that the Vengeur had gone down with colours flying and all her crew, who refused to surrender, whereas in fact she had struck, and the Captain and over 350 officers and men were saved by the ships in the vicinity that had serviceable boats. Carlyle repeated the erroneous statements in his *French Revolution*, but subsequently recanted in an Essay written in 1839. Besides this, it has some technical interest as being the only occasion since the Dutch Wars of the seventeenth century on which one of the old wooden ships of the line was sunk direct by gunfire alone.

W. G. P.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE BRUNSWICK AND LE VENGEUR

28th May. The flying Squadron (Rear Admiral Pasley) consisting of the Bellerophon, Russell, Audacious, Invincible, afterwards assisted by the Leviathan, made an impression on the Rear of the French, and captured the Revolutionnaire of 110 guns. The Brunswick being far to leeward, had no share in this night's action.

29th. The signal was made to form the Line, each ship to take her station, as most convenient to her then situation. The Brunswick being to leeward of the line, Captain Harvey after using his utmost endeavours to get his proper station, as second to the Charlotte, finding it impossible, said 'He *would* have a berth somewhere,' and after trying to get in between several of our ships, hailed the Culloden, and desiring the Captain to shorten sail, he pushed the Brunswick in, between her and the Montagu, about the 7th ship from the Rear, and in that station, received the fire of the French Line as we passed each other. Perceiving his friend Captain Bazeley in the Alfred hard pressed by an eighty-gun ship, Captain Harvey bore down to his assistance, and obliged the French ship to quit the Alfred, and follow his Fleet. A letter has arrived from Plymouth to thank the Brunswick for the assistance rendered to the Alfred on the 29th.

June 1st. The Brunswick was in her station

Digitized by Google

close to the Charlotte astern, all night. The instant the signal was made for each ship to bear down and engage his opponent to windward or to leeward, as circumstances would admit, the Brunswick's helm was directed to be put up, at the same time with the Charlotte, and both ships run down for the Centre of the French Line together; the signal being made to make more sail, in order to shut in the angle of fire from the rear as soon as possible, both ships dropped their foresails. The Brunswick's being first down, brought her close to the Charlotte, and from that position she had the honor to cover her as much as she could from the fire of the Centre and Rear of the enemy's Line; it was here the Brunswick suffered very much. The French ships astern of the Montagne were, first Le Jacobin, a 74; second, Le Pelletier, an 80; third, Le Patriote, a 74; fourth, Le Vengeur, a 74, exclusive of carronades. Lord Howe cutting through the Line close under the Montagne's stern, and raking the Jacobin a-head, with his starboard guns, it was Captain Harvey's intention to go through between the Jacobin and the next ship to engage his opponent, following the Admiral; but finding the enemy in so very close order, he bore up for an opening he perceived between the Patriote [and] the third ship from the Montagne, which Le Vengeur perceiving, shot, to close the interval. This, Captain Harvey observing, kept his helm a-port, which brought both ships alongside; the Brunswick's starboard anchor, hooking the Vengeur's fore chains and fore rigging, held her fast. In that situation both ships payed off, and went away to leeward of the French Line together, board and board hotly engaged. It was about 1 hour and 40 min. after our hooking Le Vengeur,

Digitized by Google

and after both ships had run near a mile to leeward of the French Line, one of the enemy's ships perceiving the situation of our antagonist, bore away to her assistance. We observed her, as she fetched up in the wake of both ships astern, and kept gathering on our larboard quarter. Orders were conveyed through the funnel[1] from the wheel to the lower deck to prepare for her, and we instantly turned over from the five after guns to those on the larboard side, hauled up the ports, and perceived her within musket shot, with more than 200 men well armed in the rigging, ready to throw on our decks. It was a time for great exertion and steadiness; the guns were loaded previously with a single ball of 32 lb., to this was now added a double head of the same weight and the greatest attention was paid to the pointing, proper elevation, &c. Orders were then given to fire and reload as fast as possible, engaging still Le Vengeur forward on the starboard side. After about 5 or 6 rounds from these guns, we had the excelling happiness to see first, her foremast, and then her other two masts go all by the board, many of her people calling to us for assistance, but we were yet too hotly engaged with Le Vengeur, to think of any thing else, than settling our account with her.

The cheering fore and aft was excessive and must have damped our enemy in proportion. The ship above-mentioned, I have since found from enquiry at Hilsea of the prisoners, was L'Achille of 74 guns, now in Portsmouth Harbour. They attributed their capture to the loss of their masts, from the ship engaging Le Vengeur, when they bore up to her assistance on the 1st of June.

[1] Apparently a sort of voice trunk, sometimes called the 'trumpet.'

Digitized by Google

They were afterwards in that condition (being disabled from following their Fleet) hammered at by several of our ships and struck (they say) to five or six together. It was about half an hour after this had been done, we first perceived a ship under British Colours, standing for us, and soon knew her to be the Ramillies. Word was instantly passed, that the brave Captain Harvey was come to the support of his gallant brother. The cheering again became raging, the seamen lying out of the ports, to see her, as she was coming upon our larboard quarter. They were waving for us to cut the Vengeur from us forward to let her receive the fire of the Ramillies, without injury to the Brunswick. As the Vengeur pass[ed] we split her rudder, stove her stern post into shivers; we saw the water pouring into her counter by tons. The Ramillies was yet waiting for her to settle more from us. Looking out of the stern ports, I could well perceive every precaution taken by them to train their muzzles clear of our stern, and point them to the Frenchman's quarter. At length went their broadside, and such a tremendous fire, in my life, I never saw or could have believed; I verily think every shot struck her, and as she was within pistol distance, the effect must have been terribly severe. I think this was repeated once or twice, but being very desirous to add what we could before Le Vengeur dropped quite alongside I was too busy to remark more. I saw the Ramillies soon after, suddenly fill and make sail from us. It has since appeared, that another French ship of the line Le Citoyen [1] was bearing down for us, which Captain H. Harvey observing, and being satisfied of the sinking state of the Vengeur, instantly hauled up for him. Le Citoyen

[1] This is a mistake. There was no ship of the name.

Digitized by Google

then kept her wind, the Ramillies went along with him, engaging at too great a distance, I fear, to have done him much injury ; by this however he probably saved the Brunswick, by taking this ship off along the Line. We do not remember the mizen mast of Le Vengeur falling, when near the Ramillies. All her masts went soon after, but from the weight of shot thrown into her, viz. 3 rounds shot of 32 lb., i.e. 96 lb. of ball from each gun, driving home our coins at one time, watching their rising, to fire beneath the water line, next withdrawing the coins to elevate the muzzles and rip up her decks, this alternate mode of firing for 2 hours and a half lashed alongside, we rather think it may probably happen her masts were cut by our shot from within board. The silence of their fire for the last two hours, shews the people were employed at their pumps, but all their efforts could not preserve their ship from sinking. They called to us when they had struck and displayed English Colours, but we could not lend them assistance, nor after the villainous manner they fired, did any of them deserve quarter. Their langridge was raw ore and their sulphur pots scalded our people so very miserably that they wished for death to end their agony. Our ship was on fire three times and we fired the Vengeur twice with our wads very much against our inclinations, as it might have been equally fatal to both ships. The late Captain Harvey was wounded, first by a musket shot, through his right hand. When, we cannot say, for no person knew it ; he had bound a handkerchief round it early in the action. The people's conduct not pleasing him on the main deck, he went down the ladder to speak to them and on his return a shot came in on the quarter deck and a splinter struck

Digitized by Google

him on the back and knocked him down on the larboard side. He was soon again on his legs, and seizing a ship's cutlass ordered the 1st Lieutenant to collect 50 men from the forecastle and board the Vengeur, and haul down her colours. Lieutenant Cracraft went forward, but finding the men mostly dead in that part of the ship, returned and told the Captain, who shaking his cutlass said 'Never mind, the lower deck is digging their graves; they must go down, from our fire below.' Soon after, a double headed shot, split, and one of the crowns struck his right arm; he then told the Master, Mr. Stewart, he found himself very faint, and his head affected, and desired the 1st Lieutenant might be called to command the ship, and that the Brunswick's Colours were never to be struck, and was offered him instantly to assist him below, but he said 'he would have no man leave his quarters, he had two legs left yet, to go down to the Doctor.' Soon after he was below, he was heard to say he was sorry he could do no more for his King, his glorious King, and hoped his Officers would defend the ship to the last, or meet their fate like men prepared to die in her defence. He suffered amputation about sunset, on the same day, with the most intrepid resolution, not a groan or sigh escaped him. These, Sir, are all the particulars I can at present recollect. Our brave Commander makes the 53rd that has fallen of the Brunswick in this action,[1] I hear however three are dead since I came away. We sent 121 badly wounded to the Hospital, the slight ones (among them myself) were cared [for] on board and we had no desire to swell the list of the

[1] Captain John Harvey died at Portsmouth on the 30th June.

Digitized by Google

unfortunate. According to the account of the prisoners now at Hilsea, 625 or 630 went down,[1] or were in short destroyed, being cut up in the action or drowned. The Brunswick after separation from Le Vengeur was not capable of being brought to the wind on either tack; all her running and most of her standing rigging being shot away, and all her sails in ribbands, when fresh was rove and new sails bent. The bowsprit was found to be ⅔rd cut through and a deep wound in the foremast. Had the ship been to either way[2] both would have gone and carried away the main mast with them, which were obliged to fish strongly the next day, besides nine ports were cut away. When the Vengeur came so closely and suddenly alongside, we could not heave them up, so we fired through them, and till their being replaced had there been no other reason we must have kept large. The cannonade[3] of Le Vengeur swept the poop and forecastle very early in the action; the musketry from their tops did us also very considerable injury; and great numbers of the enemy fell by our small arms, chiefly pistol shot. A young Midshipman from Sandwich about 15 is supposed to have hit and killed about thirty from his musket. It was observed that he never missed his man. One of our people on the lower deck, observing a Frenchman's foot on his port, in the act of shotting his gun, instead of putting it in, threw it with all his force at the Frenchman's head, and struck him overboard between the two ships; A Dutchman seeing a hat fall, clapped it on his own head, shot the fellow on the main

[1] Actually only about 350 were lost out of a total complement of about 700.

[2] Hauled to the wind in either tack.

[3] This word is frequently used (as here) for 'carronade.'

Digitized by Google

yard to whom it belonged, and seeing him come down, gave him a cheer *en passant.*

It may be satisfactory to you, to know that there were many men of Sandwich, Deal and Dover on board; several of the Midshipmen were also from Kent, besides our late brave Commander. Mr. Spencer of East Kent commanded the lower deck forward and the other part was assisted by a West Kent man. They endeavoured to keep up the credit of their native County, to which they were so naturally attached.

End of the Narrative of one of the Lieutenants of the Brunswick.

The following by another Lieutenant of the same ship.

As there are several prints of separate actions, fought by our Frigates this War, which have their use in holding up to the present age and to posterity,[1] the intrepidity of our gallant officers and seamen, I could wish to see a ship of the line become the subject of our artists, and with your permission I shall give you one of that description which will I believe be generally allowed both by the Nation and the British Fleet to deserve a distinguished birth from the hands of the painter, sculptor and engraver. On the 1st of June 1794 John Harvey, late Commander of the Brunswick, bore down with Admiral Earl Howe as his Lordship's second, the Queen Charlotte passing close under the stern of the Montagne and gave the Jacobin, the next ship, a raking fire a-head. The Brunswick could not penetrate between her and Le Pelletier the 2nd ship and astern of la Montagne,

[1] MS. 'prosperity.'

Digitized by Google

but giving the Jacobin a very heavy fire within pistol shot of her quarter, Captain Harvey steered for the opening he saw between the Patriote and the 3rd ship from the Montagne. Le Vengeur, the 4th ship, perceiving the intention of the Brunswick, ran up on her starboard quarter. Captain Harvey met her with a port helm which brought Le Vengeur alongside and the Brunswick's anchors hooking her fore chains, their sails filling, Captain Harvey squared his yards and bore Le Vengeur away from the French Line. The Queen was at the same time playing the same game, with a French 80-gun ship, which Admiral Gardner forced out of the Line and never left her till she struck her colours. The Queen was the 3rd ship from the Brunswick and the 4th from the Admiral.

The First Position

The Brunswick, although much cut up, in the run down to the French Admiral, from the fire of the enemy's Centre and Rear by covering (as was his duty) in some manner her Admiral as his second, grappling and forcing from the Line Le Vengeur, called a 74 but mounting 82 guns, 900 men. Le Jacobin's (the Montagne's second) foremast gone from the raking fire of the Charlotte, her gallery and quarter carried away by the fire of the Brunswick, when she hauled from her, for the interval between le Patriote and le Vengeur.

Second Position

The Brunswick and le Vengeur fairly fitted and hotly engaged one mile to leeward of the French Line, grinding side by side, the Brunswick

Digitized by Google

and Le Vengeur both on fire at the same time, the dead of both ships being thrown between them. The British and Sans Culottes lay on each other till the ships wind and separate a little, which gave the bodies to the Deep, but they were often above the guns. The Achille, of as large a scale as Le Vengeur, running down and drawing on the Brunswick's larboard quarter, reserving her fire, seeing Le Vengeur so closely grappled (200 Patriots in their rigging well armed ready to throw on the Brunswick's decks). The Brunswick opens her fire from the larboard guns on l'Achille (still engaging Le Vengeur with her starboard), l'Achille draws nearer within half musket shot. Double head is now added to one of round, the greatest pains and nicety paid to level the guns. In eight rounds, l'Achille's masts are all sent overboard. The cheering of the Brunswick's crew was excessive and tremendous to Le Vengeur.

The Third Position

The Brunswick delivered from l'Achille (a wreck and afterwards captured) gets to work again on the Vengeur, with redoubled fury. The Sans Culottes try to cut away and get clear, but are shot in the attempt by musketry and pistols ; Another ship appears from the French Line, then two miles distant, making for the Brunswick and Le Vengeur. The smoke disperses a little ; and for the first time is seen British Colours coming to our assistance. It is the Ramillies. Word is passed it is the brave Captain Henry Harvey approaching to assist his brother. The Ramillies takes nearly the position lately occupied by l'Achille, but nearer and waving to cut Le Vengeur

Digitized by Google

and to let her drop astern ; which was then done, to use Captain Harvey's own words 'perceiving her to be in a sinking state, I gave her one broadside and then hauled off from her, for another ship which I discovered making for us, and we went away together, but too distant to do that execution we wished.' The Frenchman hauled his wind seeing a fresh ship after him, and joined his flag. The broadside of the Ramillies was a most sensible fire ; every gun told into Le Vengeur. But the taking off the other ship was the greatest service to the Brunswick, and deserves acknowledgment gratitude can pay.

Fourth and Last Position

After the departure of the Ramillies, the Brunswick shifting her helm, lay across Le Vengeur, and raking her head from a steady and well-directed fire, all her masts fell over her stern, and as Le Vengeur was going down, though gradually, the most piteous and loud lamentations were uttered ; a blue Jack[1] was displayed and every token of submission made to the Brunswick. Finding the business done, having no boats that would swim, she flew for another dismantled ship without colours, from whom she had received some galling shot ; but on her edging up under the ship's lee, she displayed English Colours, and pointing to the Queen then disabled, signified in very good English she had struck to that Admiral. This prize was afterwards carried off by a frigate into the body of their Fleet.

[1] *I.e.* Union Jack ; the White Jack was the St. George's Jack.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LETTERS

OF

LORD NELSON

1804–1805

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

1. Sir Edward Pellew had been cruising off Ferrol on the watch for five French men-of-war that were sheltering and refitting in Corunna harbour, but was recalled to London to support the Admiralty in the House of Commons during Pitt's attack on St. Vincent's administration. The debate took place on 15th March, 1804. Pellew's speech had apparently considerable effect and assisted in saving the Government from defeat. On 27th March he returned to his station, but on 23rd April a large number of promotions were somewhat unexpectedly made by the Admiralty just prior to St. Vincent quitting office, and Pellew, who became a Rear Admiral of the White, was recalled to be made C. in C. of the East Indies Station. Cochrane, who was also promoted on that occasion, was ordered to take over the command and on the 9th May Pellew quitted the station. This letter, written before Nelson was aware of the facts, evidently arrived at Ferrol after Pellew had left, and no doubt Cochrane opened it, and made a copy before he sent on the original.

Clarke and McArthur made a short extract from the last paragraph of this interesting letter (giving it the appearance of a complete short one) in Vol. II of their *Life of Admiral Lord Nelson*, but Nicolas was evidently unable to find a copy and had to content himself with quoting from that source. Presumably the original has disappeared and it is fortunate this copy has survived.

2 and **3.** Holograph. It will be observed that after nearly three months Nelson had no details of the various promotions, though he evidently was aware of these directly affecting him. He had to rely upon French newspapers for information on English political affairs,

Digitized by Google

and his letters throughout the year are filled with complaints that he is not properly supplied with information from home.

4. This is the original. Presumably it had been sent on from the Mediterranean to the West Indies, but arriving after Nelson had left was handed over to Cochrane, who finding that it had been made obsolete by events did not trouble to send it further.

Cochrane had left Ferrol in February 1805 in pursuit of Missiessy and was told by the Admiralty to remain in the West Indies as C. in C. of the Leeward Islands Station. The best account of the whole of those operations is of course *The Campaign of Trafalgar* of Sir Julian Corbett. He briefly mentions the purport of this order on p. 114.

5, 6, 7. Holograph.

8. Autographs of Nelson and Scott.

9. Copy.

10. Apparently a memorandum of a conversation with Nelson while the fleet was at anchor in the evening of 8th June. Cochrane was wrong in supposing that Villeneuve left Martinique on 28th May; he did not leave till 5th June and then made for Barbuda. His forecast that the enemy would make for Ferrol was correct.

11, 12. Holograph.

13. Autograph. In a letter to Admiralty dated 19th April (Nicolas, VI, 412) Nelson says that Chrétien and Desirée had been captured in the Ambuscade in 1803 and were serving with him, but he had ordered their discharge. Evidently no opportunity had occurred to send them to England as he had intended, or he altered his mind when he foresaw that he could take them back to the West Indies himself.

14. Holograph. Cochrane was now parting company and returning to Barbados. The Ramillies and Illustrious, sent by Collingwood to reinforce Nelson, arrived about a month after this letter was written, and were sent by Cochrane direct to the Channel. See *Campaign of Trafalgar*, p. 171.

W. G. P.

Digitized by Google

LETTERS OF LORD NELSON 1804–1805

1. *NELSON TO SIR EDWARD PELLEW*

Victory, 1st May, 1804.

My dear Sir Edward,—I feel more than merely obliged by your kind and obliging letter of April 10th which, notwithstanding it has been afloat in the Med^{a}. 6 Days, conveys to us very late news. I wish our Government in their important communications with me would direct their dispatches to Mr. Frere [1] at Madrid, and direct him to forward them by a confidential person to Barcelona where almost every week I send a frigate for information, then such a distressing circumstance as has happened to the Swift cutter [2] could not take place. Bonaparte read all the public dispatches on April 16th. I wish they had choaked him. I wish I was sure that our letters are not read by the Way, however, what I am going to say cannot do much harm. The French have 14000 men ready for Embarkation at Toulon and as many more in the heel of Italy—they only want more Ships and my information leads me to suppose that certainly the Ferrol Squadron is destined for the Mediterranean—and also the Brest fleet—either before or after they may have thrown their Corps of Troops on Shore in Ireland.

[1] John Hookham Frere, the British Minister.

[2] A hired cutter, commanded by Lieut. W. T. Martin Leake; captured by a French privateer on 5th April, Lieut. Leake being killed. Nelson was annoyed at the loss of letters and of a portrait of Lady Hamilton, *vide* Nicolas, V. 503; VI. 5, 36.

Digitized by Google

Egypt and the Morea are supposed to be their great object after their English and Irish Schemes. Our force here is not equal to such a force united to the Toulon Fleet which is ten Sail of the Line seven of which are full manned.

New

80	Bucentaur—Vice Adm[l]. La Touche Treville	
80	Formidable—Rear Adm[l]. Le Lerique	7 Sail of the line and 7 Frigates in the outer road.
80	Indomptable—fitting—inner road.	
80	Neptune—New	
74	Scipion	
74	Hannibal	
74	Swiftsure	
74	Berwick—inner road.	
74	Mont Blanc	
74	Intrepid—inner road	
74	Atlas—in the Arsenal	formerly Spanish.

Seven Frigates.

Our ships' hulls many of them are but in a very indifferent state, however we can keep nine Sail of the Line at Sea. I do not chuse to say more upon this subject, but this I may pride myself upon, that no man ever commanded a fleet better manned, more healthy, or ever greater unanimity prevailed, than the one I have the honour of Commanding. I believe the Russian fleet from the Black Sea is by this time in the Mediterranean,[1] their object I can only guess at

[1] Nelson's experience in 1798–9 led him to dislike any idea of co-operating with the Russian fleet, and he believed that they were only acting with an eye to the ultimate conquest of the Morea and Constantinople (Nicolas, V. 462; VI.

Digitized by Google

for I have not a word of information or a scrap of a pen [1] from England since the end of January.

I am truly sensible of the honor you do me in expressing a wish to serve under me, but [2]you have always my dear Sir Edward proved yourself so equal to command a fleet that it would be a sin to place you in any other situation, and my services are very nearly at an end for in addition to other infirmities I am nearly blind—however I hope to fight one more Battle[2] and then unless my health and sight mends, which is not very likely, I expect perhaps to lay down the cudgels and console myself with the Idea that there are so many more able Officers than ever I would pretend to be ready to take them up. Captains Murray and Keats are very well and desire their regards and if Louis, Geo. Martin or Sutton are with you remember me kindly to them or any other of my old Friends and believe me ever my dear Sir Edward your much obliged friend and Servant

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Sir Edw[d]. Pellew, Bart.

2. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

Victory, 14th July, 1804.

My dear Sir,—I have an opportunity of sending to Barcelona and will not omit the opportunity of

99, 105, 107, 131, 225, 265). For the Russian operations in the Mediterranean in 1804, see Professor Holland Rose's chapter, "The Contest with Napoleon," in *Camb. Hist. of Brit. Foreign Policy*, Vol. I, and *The Third Coalition against France* (R. Hist. Soc. Camden Series VII).

[1] This expression occurs frequently in Nelson's letters from May to August, 1804.

[2-2] This was extracted and printed by Clarke and McArthur (vol. ii. p. 362).

Digitized by Google

thanking you for your kind letter of June 3 which I received about a week ago. I have not had a scrap of a pen from England since the Leviathan who sailed April 9th. I believe we are forgot in the changes of administration [1] and had it not been for the french papers we should have been in total ignorance of what has been passing in England. The french masted their eleventh ship of the line on the 7th, and as Ad^l. Ganthome [2] has hoisted his flag at Brest it is an additional proof to my mind that the Mediterranean is to be the scene of action if he can escape Cornwallis. I hope they will try soon, for my constitution requires and must have some months repose.

I have not a small ship to send a letter, but the New Admiralty [3] I hope will think seriously of our wants. I could say much but I will not more than to assure you that I am with great respect and esteem My Dear Sir your most obliged and faithful Serv^t.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Admiral Murray desires his comp^ts. We have received no accounts of the promotion.[4] Remember me kindly to all my friends with you, but who you

[1] Pitt had succeeded to Addington in May.

[2] V.-Adml. Comte Honoré Ganteaume.

[3] Melville replaced St. Vincent on 15th May.

[4] The last promotion of Captains to the Flag list had been made on 1 Jan. 1801, and on 1 Jan. 1804 only two Rear Admirals were left in the junior colour, 'of the Blue.' On 23 April, 1804, just before Addington and St. Vincent went out of office, 30 promotions were made, nine of whom, including Pellew, passed direct to the White. Among the remaining 21 Blues were Geo. Murray, Sutton, Cochrane, Troubridge and Louis, who was last of the batch. Nelson passed from Blue to White on the list of Vice-Admirals.

Digitized by Google

have we are ignorant. I am truly sorr[y] for dear good Davison,[1] but it cannot now be helped.

9 weeks since I have heard from Gib^r. 8 weeks from Malta. If you communicate with the Commissioner's family at Ply^o.[2] say that White is gone to Naples to take command of the Kent and proceed directly to England, the latter end of September he may be expected. He is a very excellent man and good officer and we all regret parting with him.

Hon^ble. Rear Adm^l. Cochrane,
off Ferrol.

[*Endorsed by Rear Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, Nelson's second in command.*]

I wish you success.

R. BICKERTON.

8. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

Victory, 12th Sept., 1804.

My dear Admiral,—A few days ago I was favoured with your obliging letter of Aug^t. 10th since the writing of which both Fisgard and Spencer have joined us, Gibraltar, Kent (White) Triumph Narcissus and Maidstone are gone and going for England, and before Xmas both Renown and Superb will probably be relieved.

I think the french will some day send their fleets to sea and that the West Indies, if the Russian[s] get their Black Sea fleet into the Med^a., is more likely for them to hurt us in, than this country. We have but few troops to defend our Islands and recent conquests, 10 or 12000 french troops would injure us there more than in

[1] Alexander Davison: sentenced in April to 12 months' imprisonment for bribery at Ilchester Election in 1803.

[2] Plymouth.

Digitized by Google

any other part of the World,[1] for we could not send troops to face them from home, and that number to france is like a drop of water in the ocean. Monsieur La Touche has slipt thro' my fingers, he died a natural death.[2] By Paris we get late English news, that is enough for us to know that England is yet safe, 9 days from Paris to the Victy. off Toulon. We are all healthy except the Physician to the fleet [3] and myself, and I think we are mending, our weather this last fortnight has been very fine such as I have not seen since my arrival in the Medn.

Adl. Murray desires me to say that he has wrote to Ball [4] to get you a jack ass fit for business and that he will do the needful about the Marsala wine, I will not at this time offer my services, for before your answer can arrive probably I shall be upon my passage home. The Dons are very civil on this side and I believe their earnest desire is peace,[5] for if the Americans and us go to war with them I think they will lose America and probably Spain. France will take care of one and America take by force the other. Remember me most kindly to Fremantle and Wallis of the Naiad and I beg my best compliments to your companions, and believe me ever My Dear Admiral your most obliged Friend

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Sir Rd. Bickerton, Adl. Cam[p]bell, Strachan, &c. thank you for your remembrances of them.

Honble. Rear Admiral Cochrane,
Ferrol.

[1] *Cf.* Dundas to Spencer, 24 Aug. 1796. *Spencer Papers I*, 317.
[2] He died on board the Bucentaure on 19 August.
[3] Dr. John Snipe.
[4] Captain Sir Alexander Ball, then Governor of Malta.
[5] They declared war on 12 Dec. 1804.

Digitized by Google

4. *ADMIRALTY TO NELSON*

Secret.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

WHEREAS we have received Intelligence that a Squadron of French Ships consisting of Eleven Sail of the Line, seven Frigates and two Brigs, sailed from Toulon and passed the Straits of Gibraltar on the 9th of last month; your Lordship is hereby required and directed to leave in the Mediterranean under the orders of the Flag Officer next in Seniority to yourself, as many of the Line of Battle Ships and Frigates belonging to the Squadron under your Command as you may judge necessary for the purpose of watching the Enemy at the Ports of Toulon and Carthagena; and having given to the said Flag Officer such Instructions for his guidance as you may judge necessary, Your Lordship is to proceed with the remainder of your Squadron off Cadiz, where you are to leave the Ships and Sloops mentioned in the margin [Lively, Amphion, off Cadiz. Another Frigate and two Sloops] with Orders to the Senior Captain to watch the progress of the Equipment of the Enemy's ships at that Port, and to give notice of their movements to the Officer Commanding the Squadron of His Majesty's Ships off Ferrol, and also to our Secretary for our information.

Having proceeded off Cadiz and stationed the Ships as abovementioned, your Lordship is to lose no time in repairing with the Ships which may be with you, off Ushant, and upon joining the Squadron under the Orders of the Rt. Honble. Lord Gardner, Admiral of the Blue, put yourself

Digitized by Google

under his Lordship's Command and follow his Orders for your further proceedings.

In case your Lordship should be desirous of continuing in the Command of His Majesty's Ships in the Mediterranean, you are at liberty so to do, sending such Ships as may not be necessary to employ for the purpose of watching the motions of the Enemy at Toulon, Carthagena and Cadiz, to join Lord Gardner off Ushant.

Given Under Our Hands the 9th May 1805.

BARHAM
J. GAMBIER
PHILIP PATTON
EVAN NEPEAN

To
The Rt. Hble. Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B.,
Vice Admiral of the White,
&c. &c. &c.
Mediterranean.

By Command of their Lordships.
Wm. Marsden.

5. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

Victory, off Cape St. Vincent,
10th May, 1805.

Sir,—I arrived off here yesterday but am entirely ignorant of the destination of the enemy. But as our West India possessions must be in great danger should that be the enemy's destination I have determined to proceed there with the ten sail of the line under my orders and am steering for Barbados as the place most likely to procure information, and probably to form a junction with you, and you may expect to see me a very short time after the receipt of this letter [1]; as the ships

[1] Nelson arrived on 4 June.

Digitized by Google

I bring will want nothing I shall not anchor, and request that you will weigh upon the fleet's being seen, in order that we may get at the enemy before he is aware of my junction with you. I have requested Lord Seaforth[1] to lay an Embargo upon all vessels, that the enemy may not get notice of my approach, and should you not be at Barbados I have requested His Lordship to open and read this letter.

I am, Sir,
with great respect your most obedient
Servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Hon^ble. Rear Admiral Cochrane.

6. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

Victory, 29th May, 1805.

My dear Sir,—Should the enemy's combined Squadron have called at Martinico and taken the Squadron which came from Rochford with them their force will be 24 Sail of the Line, it will therefore be necessary for me to take the whole of your Squadron with me and then I shall only be 16 Sail of the Line. If any Island within your command be their object of attack of course you will proceed with the fleet, but should Jamaica be their object I then submit it to you to either proceed with the fleet in pursuit of the enemy or to hoist your flag on board a frigate of your Squadron. If your choice is the former you will leave such instructions as you may judge proper for the senior officer carrying on the service. If the latter you will shift your flag that the North-

[1] Governor of Barbados.

Digitized by Google

umberland may not be detained for I shall certainly not anchor at Barbadoes.

I state my intentions on the presumption that the enemy is in the West Indies. If they are not I shall return to the Med[n]. with all expedition.

I am ever My Dear Sir with the highest respect your most faithful humble Servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

The Martin I take for granted arrived safe; but I send a duplicate of my letter by her.

Honb[le]. Rear Ad[l]. Cochrane.

7. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

Victory, 4th June, 1805.

My dear Sir,—We have been a long while working up, and I fear that all the Troops will not get on board this evening, therefore perhaps Sir William Myers[1] and his suite had rather take daylight in the morning, but I am ready to receive them at any hour in the night.

With respect to your frigates, leave a line of what number you think are necessary to cruise to windward of Barbadoes to cover expected convoys and desire the others to join us, in short direct them as you would if I was not here.

In whatever manner you think Diamond Rock[2] can be relieved direct a proper force for that purpose, probably if something goes for the Jason she could relieve it as I suppose all the french frigates from the numbers seen are gone with the

[1] Lt.-General. For circumstances in which he accompanied the expedition, see *Campaign of Trafalgar*, p. 161.

[2] It had been captured only the day before by a detachment of Villeneuve's fleet.

Digitized by Google

fleet. I shall give up moving until after daylight for I see it is impossible the Troops can be on board until very late in the night if even then.

If you still think of sending the Sloop to England this night my dispatches are ready.

I am ever My Dear Admiral

Yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Honble. Rear Adl. Cochrane.

8. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

By the Right Honble. Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B., Duke of Bronte in Sicily, Knight of the Great Cross of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, Knight of the Order of the Crescent and of the Illustrious Order of St. Joachim, Vice Admiral of the White, &c., &c.

You are hereby required and Instructed to put yourself (and the ships composing your Squadron) under my Command, and follow and obey all such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from me for His Majesty's Service.

Given on board the Victory off Barbadoes the 4th June 1805.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the Honble. Alexr. Cochrane
Rear Admiral of the Blue.
&c. &c. &c.
Northumberland.

By Command of the Vice Admiral.
John Scott.

Digitized by Google

9. *ARRANGEMENT FOR EMBARKATION OF TROOPS AT BARBADOS ON BOARD THE SHIPS UNDER THE COMMAND OF LORD NELSON, 4th JUNE,* 1805.

	SIGNAL
Victory to take Royal Artillery 150 and three guns	White at the fore.
Northumberland 50 Royal Artillery and 3 guns 2 Comp^{s}. 96 Regt. under Major Cochrane to leeward.	Blue at the mizen.
Canopus 4 Comp^{s}. 96 Reg^{t}.—Lt. Col. Conran	Blue at the mizen with a white St. George's ensign.
Spencer 2 Comp^{s}. 96 Reg^{t}. and the black artif^{s}. and pioneers.	A weft at the mizen peak.
Leviathan 2 Comp^{s}. 96 Reg^{t}. 50 Men 4 W^{t}. Ind.	Weft at the mizen top mast head.
Swiftsure 150—4 W^{t}. Ind. Reg^{t}.	Weft at the main.
Donegal 3 Comp^{s}. 15 Reg^{t}. Lt. Col. Barry.	Weft at the fore.
Conqueror 3 Comp^{s}. 15 Reg^{t}.	Weft at the fore, and a white pennant at the main.
Superb 2 Comp^{s}. 15 Reg^{t}.	Weft at the fore and a red pennant at the main.
Bellisle 6 W.I. Reg^{t}. One half of the Detachments.	Weft at the main and white pennant at the fore.
Tigre 6 W^{t}. Ind. Reg^{t}. 1 half of the detachments.	Weft at the main and a red pennant at the fore.

Digitized by Google

	SIGNAL
Spartiate Medical Staff & Royal Mil[a] Artificers. 15 Reg[t]. 1 Comp[a].	Weft at the main and blue pennant at the fore.

The guns to embark one half on board the Victory and half in the Northumberland.

10. *ADML. COCHRANE'S OBSERVATIONS TO LORD NELSON RESPECTING THE ENEMY THE 8th JUNE*, 1805.

If the French and Spanish Squadrons actually sailed from Martinique upon the evening of the 28th ult°, and no intelligence can be obtained of them either at Granada or Antigua, my opinion is that they are gone to St. Domingo to land their troops either by separating from the Spaniards when off S(anta) Cruz—the latter squadron going to St. Juan de puerto Rico in order to put on shore the troops they have on board as a reinforcement to that Garrison. Then proceed to Leeward and rejoin the French off St. Domingo or in the Mona passage. Otherwise that the whole of the combined Squad[n]. will first call off St. Juan and from thence to St. Domingo, land their troops and then proceed direct to Europe most likely rendezvousing at Ferrol for the double purpose of attacking with advantage the squadron of that part as also to form a junction with the French and Spanish Squadrons—which will increase their force to twenty seven Sail of the Line at least, even allowing that the St. Raphiel is sent to the Havanna. With this united force Brest appears to me to be their next object where they will be greatly superior to any force that can be opposed to them for a length of time and of course be enabled to make good their long threatened invasion.

Digitized by Google

The troops they have on board are not sufficient for the reduction of Jamaica where there is about 3000 regulars besides a numerous militia.

The best places to obtain information from are Tortola and St. Thomases. A small vessel should also be sent to S(anta) Cruz.

11. *GENERAL ORDER*

Victory, 9th June, 1805,
off Grenada.

General.

To the Captains of frigates and Commanders of Sloops coming to join the fleet.

If the fleet is not wanted at Grenada, I shall proceed towards St. Vincent and from thence to Le Gros Islet. Of course you will approach with proper caution making the signal to the Island.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To be copied and left with Capt. Edgcombe of the Heron, and if he is not there or any of His Majestys Ships, with Capt. Kemp, Agent for Transport, and he is desired to take it to every ship arriving at Barbadoes.

12. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

Victory, 11th June, 1805.

My dear Admiral,—Capt. Champaigne [1] reports that (a part) 16 sail of Ship were seen on Saturday morning working to windward under Guadalupe and that they took mortars on board, farther

[1] Captain W. B. Champain of the Jason. According to Nelson's letter to Admiralty of same date (Nicolas, vi. 451) it was the whole fleet that was seen.

Digitized by Google

I know nothing, I shall stand and communicate with Antigua, farther I know not, nor can guess at our future movements.

Ever My Dear Admiral,
Yours faithfully,
NELSON AND BRONTE.

I beg to be remembered to Capt. Tobin,[1] I should like to see him.

Honble. Rear Adl. Cochrane.

13. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

Victory at Sea the 11th June, 1805.

Sir,—Having ordered Captain Tobin to receive the black General and Servant named in the Margin [Joseph Chretien. Petet Desirée] on board the Northumberland and victual them the same as his ship's Company 'till an opportunity offers of sending them to Jamaica, I am to request you will be so good as order the said Men a passage to Jamaica in the very first Vessel of War going there, and to be borne as supernumeraries for victuals only as above.

I have given the said black General a letter for Rear Admiral Dacres which he is directed to deliver to him personally, in order that himself and servant may be sent to St. Domingo as early after their arrival at Jamaica as possible.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
NELSON AND BRONTE.

The Honble. Rear Adml. Cochrane,
Northumberland.

[1] George Tobin, Cochrane's Flag Captain.

Digitized by Google

14. *NELSON TO COCHRANE*

Victory, St. Johns, Antigua,
13th June, 1805.

My dear Admiral,—Should the expected reinforcements when they arrive be found unnecessary to be kept, and you determine upon sending them home again, I venture to suggest that it may be advantageous to His Majesty's Service if the Squadron or some part of them called off Cape St. Vincent or Lisbon to know if their assistance might not be wanted off Cadiz or in the Mediterranean, as the combined fleet in that quarter will be full thirty Sail of the Line; the loss of time cannot probably exceed one week in lengthening their passage to England. I only presume to mention this rout[e] as the matter strikes me. Circumstances and orders may very properly induce you not to attend to this suggestion. Wishing you My Dear Admiral every success which your zeal and activity so much merit, and thanking you most sincerely for your cordial co-operation I remain with the Highest Esteem and regard your most obliged and faithful friend

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Honb^le. Rear Ad^l. Cochrane.

Digitized by Google

THE SECOND CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE 1806

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTION

THE circumstances in which the Cape of Good Hope was occupied by Great Britain in 1795, and the naval operations entailed, have been set forth in Vol. I of *The Keith Papers*. On the 1st October 1801 Preliminary Articles for a peace with France were signed in London. In these Addington's Government, much to the disgust of some of the Opposition, agreed to restore the Cape to the Dutch, and when on the 3rd November these Articles came under discussion in the House of Lords Nelson rose to defend the Government's action. In the course of his speech he said:

> With regard to the Cape of Good Hope, when the Indiamen were heavy ships, it might have been found useful for them to touch there and refit; but now, since the India ships were coppered like our men of war and swift sailers, it frequently happened that they sailed out to India without touching at any port whatever. He had himself been there, and he considered it merely a tavern on the passage, which served to call at, and thence often to delay the voyage. While the Dutch held it, you could buy a cabbage there for twopence; but since it had been in our hands a shilling was obliged to be paid for a cabbage. It produced little that made it worth holding, and it could not be maintained but at an enormous expense; he therefore thought, that considering the present situation of our territories in India, ministers had acted with prudence and economy in giving up the Cape, and making it a free port.

It seems strange that Nelson entirely ignored the object the Government had in view in occupying the Cape in 1795—to prevent the French from establishing a base from which they could operate to cut our communications

Digitized by Google

with India more effectually than they did from Mauritius —for he can hardly have been unaware of this. But it is clear that expert opinion as to the value of the Cape had somewhat changed since 1795, for Pitt, discussing these Preliminaries in a letter to Grenville dated 5th October, wrote: 'I certainly regret very much that the Cape is not retained . . . but I know that great Indian and Naval Authorities attach much less value to it than I have been used to do.' During the discussion in the Lower House on the same occasion (3rd November) Thomas Grenville said:

> He was not at all satisfied with the situation in which the Cape was left by the Treaty. We had ceded a port which might become a great annoyance to our trade. The Cape furnished a military station of vast importance in the event of a sudden war not preceded by a proclamation. The Marquis Cornwallis on his return from India had strongly pressed the necessity of retaining Cochin and the Cape, or if only one of them could be retained, the Cape in preference to Cochin. . . .

In an endeavour to discount his opponents' arguments he further remarked that:

> He might possibly be told that our merchantmen were advised to avoid the Cape; that the importance of their settlement was not as great as was represented . . .

and indeed that is precisely what Lord Hobart, the Colonial Secretary, was saying in the Upper House at the same moment.

Towards the end of the debate Pitt rose and made a long speech in which he said:

> In turning his attention to the East Indies, he certainly saw cause for regret, because the opinion he had been taught to entertain of the value of the Cape of Good Hope was much lighter[1] than that expressed by his noble friend. He knew there were great authorities against him; but, on the other hand, from what he had heard from Marquis Cornwallis, and from a right hon. friend of his, who had long presided over the affairs of India (Mr. Dundas), he was induced to think

[1] Presumably a misprint in the Debates for 'higher.'

Digitized by Google

the Cape of Good Hope a more important place than it had been represented on this occasion. But thinking thus highly as he did of the Cape, he considered it as far inferior indeed to Ceylon, which he looked upon to be, of all the places upon the face of the globe, the one which would add most to the security of our East-Indian possessions, and as placing our dominions in that quarter in a greater degree of safety than they had been in from the first hour that we set foot on the continent of India.

The noble friend was apparently Earl Temple, who had spoken a little before, but what he said on this subject is not reported.

The definitive Treaty, which gave British and French ships the right to put in at the Cape and purchase supplies without paying higher duties than those to which Dutch ships were liable, was signed on 27th March 1802, but instructions to the Governor at the Cape (Lieut.-General Francis Dundas) do not appear to have been sent him until long after orders had been given for the restoration of the French and Dutch possessions in the West Indies, and they certainly did not reach the Cape within the three months after ratification allowed by Article 12 of the Treaty. It was not until 12th of August that one of H.M. ships arrived with news of the Peace and official instructions to the Governor. The arrangements for the transfer were then commenced, and all details were about to be completed with the issue of a Proclamation absolving the inhabitants from their oath of allegiance to George III when at noon on the 31st December, only twelve hours before the British flag was to have been hauled down, the Imogene arrived with a letter from Hobart to Dundas dated 17th October ordering him to retain possession until further orders as 'circumstances have recently occurred which render it advisable to delay the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope to the Batavian Government.' The circumstances referred to were the disputes between the British Government and Napoleon respecting the carrying out of the Treaty, and the fact that the continued maintenance of French troops in Holland clearly indicated that Napoleon did not intend to allow the Dutch any political independence.

Digitized by Google

When the dispatch arrived Dundas and the naval commander-in-chief, Sir Roger Curtis, were at lunch with the Dutch commissioners, with whom they had arranged the details of the transfer. They were called away from the table to read it, and the Governor found himself placed in a very awkward situation, for he was told that 'every circumstance should be avoided which may be calculated to excite jealousy in the Batavian Government or to create an apprehension of its arising from an hostile motive.' The troops which were already embarked were hurried ashore again and the guards strengthened at the important posts before Dundas broke the news to the Dutch authorities. At first some of the Dutch were in favour of a resort to arms, but the Commissioner-General was fortunately too sensible to agree to such a course and contented himself with a formal protest against the delay. The Dutch forces then withdrew into camp near Rondebosch and both parties sat down to await further news from Europe. On the 19th February the Concord arrived with instructions from Hobart dated 16th November telling Dundas to complete the evacuation, and on the following day he issued the belated Proclamation and allowed the Dutch soldiers to relieve the English at the Castle and Forts. Dundas and the last of the troops embarked on the 4th March 1803 and the British occupation came to an end.

On the 18th May, a week before the ships returning home had reached the shores of England, the war broke out afresh and the work had to be done over again.

While the Addington administration lasted, that is to say, until May of the following year, nothing was attempted. But as soon as Pitt had replaced Addington reports began to appear in the press that an expedition was about to sail. Thus *The Times*, on the 31st May 1804, went so far as to say that an expedition to the Cape was preparing, that the naval part would be commanded by Commodore Sir Home Popham, while the military would be under the command of Generals Dundas, Baird and Auchmuty. This statement, with variations, was repeated on several of the following days with so much detail that one can only suppose that the ministry had

Digitized by Google

some object to serve. Probably it was political 'window-dressing,' for it is difficult to imagine that they would have allowed the facts that appeared to be published in this manner and put the enemy on his guard if they intended to carry out such an operation. As a matter of fact Pitt had several objects in view for combined expeditions. No doubt this was one of them, but it was not the most pressing and it may be suspected that he was using this to divert his opponents' attention from one of the others. A year later, when the French fleet had been chased to the West Indies and back by Nelson, and the Government thought the time opportune, for they now had troops available which they had thought to send elsewhere as well as troops destined for India which could be used at the Cape *en route*, they issued the instructions for the expedition to set out, which are printed below. On this occasion they took steps to secure the greatest secrecy as to the actual destination. The effective orders to Popham, printed on p. 214, were not entered in the Admiralty Letter Books,[1] but only dummy orders instructing him to proceed to the Mediterranean, and the various sections of the expedition all sailed under sealed orders. The result was that although the expedition was not unexpected, for the Cape Government had been alarmed by the earlier rumours and the ships had been sighted on the way thither by neutral ships that had outsailed them, the Cape was not sufficiently well garrisoned to stand up against it and the French support that might otherwise have been found there was lacking.

The expedition put to sea about 1st September 1805, but made a very slow passage. It did not all reach Madeira until 28th September. It left on 3rd October, but instead of proceeding direct to Cape Town as had been ordered it put into St. Salvador on 10th November. In 1795 Elphinstone had sighted Cape Town 68 days after sailing from Spithead, but evidently this expedition, which started much later in the year, encountered much

[1] The draft and original are among the papers of Popham's Court Martial.

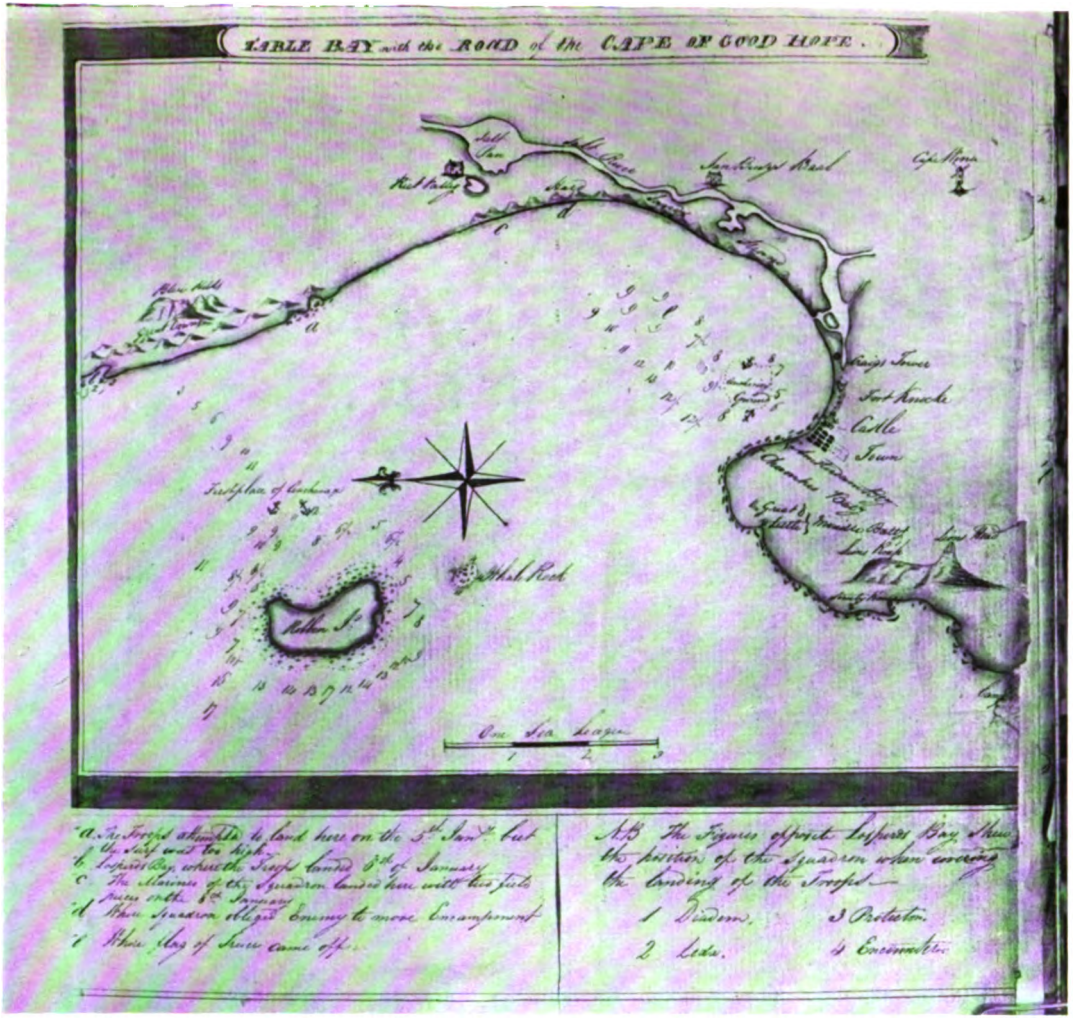
Digitized by Google

more severe weather on its way to Southern latitudes, and damage to some of the ships and general shortage of provisions and water forced them to break their journey on the coast of Brazil.

On the 26th November, having repaired and re-victualled his ships, Popham set out from St. Salvador; but it took him over a month to reach his destination. Table Mountain was sighted on 3rd January 1806 and on the 4th the fleet and transports came to an anchor in Table Bay. Meanwhile the Narcissus, which had been detached on 4th September to inform the Governor of St. Helena of the expedition and then proceed to the Cape in search of information, had arrived in those waters and on 25th December had driven a French privateer ashore near Hout Bay. This was the first intimation the Governor received that the long-expected expedition was probably near at hand. Shortly afterward two ships came into the Bay, one of which had seen the expedition at sea, while the other had learned that it had left Madeira on 3rd October. The Governor made what preparations he could, but the garrison was much below its normal strength, for it had received no reinforcements since it took over the colony, and in addition to the usual wastage from death and desertion it had suffered very heavy losses from dysentery at the end of 1804. There were, in fact, less than 1600 regular European troops. It was, moreover, difficult to collect the militia, for the harvest was at its height, which made the farmers reluctant to leave their homes, and the intense heat prevented them from travelling except during the night hours.

Baird had made arrangements to land on the morning after their arrival in the Bay, but during the night of the 4th a heavy gale sprang up and when the morning came it was found that the surf made landing impossible. At night, seeing the surf still unabated, Baird and Popham sent Brigadier-General Beresford with the 38th Regiment, 20th Light Dragoons and some artillery to Saldanha Bay to land there, intending to follow with the remainder the next morning (6th January), but at daybreak it was seen that the surf had abated sufficiently to allow an attempt

Digitized by Google



a. The Troops attempted to land here on the 5th Janr but the Surf was too high

b. Losberd Bay, where the Troops landed 8th of January

c. The Marines of the Squadron landed here with two field pieces on the 8th January

d. Where Squadron stood Enemy to move Encampment

e. Where Flag of Truce came off

N.B. The Figures of print Losberd Bay Shew the positions of the Squadron when covering the Landing of the Troops.

1 Diadem. 3 Protector.

2 Leda. 4 Encounter.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

to be made at a more suitable spot a little to the north in Losperd's Bay. This is marked A in the accompanying map. A small transport was run aground to form a breakwater, and, except for the loss of 36 men of the 93rd Regiment from one boat which was swamped in the surf, the remainder of the army got safely on shore during the course of that and the following day. They met with no opposition, for there was only one company of the burgher militia at the spot and the ships' guns kept these at a distance.

Leaving a few soldiers and a force of burghers to guard Cape Town, Governor Janssens had got together, in addition to 1258 regular troops available, 240 French seamen from the French ship run ashore by the Narcissus and from another ship in harbour; 224 mounted burghers; 54 Javanese artillery; 181 Hottentots and 104 slaves: a total of 2061 men, with 16 guns. To these, despite the absence of Beresford's force, Baird could oppose about 4000 infantry, together with some artillery and, if necessary, the 500 or 600 seamen who (as in 1795) did service as artillery horses and dragged the guns through the sand, and who were armed with pikes. His force was ample, and the Ministry had rightly turned a deaf ear to the appeals for reinforcements with which he had bombarded them before he sailed.

Very early in the morning of the 8th Janssens met the English advancing from Blueberg (the Blue Hills of the map). As soon as the action opened most of the mercenary troops (a Waldeck regiment) deserted him. They knew quite well what the result must be, and did not relish being killed merely for the honour of the Dutch flag. The charge of the Highland Brigade frightened off nearly all the remaining regulars, and the irregular forces, who behaved uncommonly well in these circumstances, with the few regulars who had not deserted their colours, fell back to Riet Valley. From here Janssens sent part of the force back to Cape Town to take part in the inevitable capitulation and withdrew with the rest to the mountains, whence he might hope to impede the British occupation of the country.

Baird resumed his advance the next morning (9th)

Digitized by Google

and was met off Craig's Tower by a flag of truce with propositions of surrender. That evening he took possession of Fort Knokke, just as Beresford's detachment began to arrive, and at 4 P.M. on the following day the Articles of Capitulation were agreed and signed. On the 13th Beresford was sent after Janssens to propose a capitulation on his part, to which, after further negotiations, he agreed on the 18th.

In accordance with his instructions Baird took over the Civil Administration with the title of Lieutenant-Governor. He set to work to prepare for a French attack by sea, for it was now discovered that Admiral Linois, the French Commander-in-Chief on the East Indies Station, had put into Table Bay in November, and had proceeded thence along the West Coast; meanwhile the Dutch Colours were kept flying in order to entrap any enemy vessels that might make the port. On the 27th January an English Guineaman, Resource, which had been captured off Loango by ships of Linois' squadron and sent to Cape Town as a prize, arrived and was promptly seized. From her it was learnt that Linois was raiding the commerce on the West Coast and proposed to return to the Cape about 8th March. On 21st February a similar recapture was made of the Rollo privateer, sent in under a prize crew with dispatches for the ex-Governor. A neutral arriving next day brought news of the presence of a French frigate in Cape waters.

Popham kept his squadron at sea on the look out for the French, and on the 4th March another French frigate chased by Raisonable and Narcissus made for safety (as she thought) in Table Bay. There she found Diadem, Leda and Diomede, who at once hoisted Dutch colours and caught her when she unsuspectingly came within reach. She had on board a number of British soldiers captured off Ushant on their way home from Gibraltar. This ship, La Volontaire, was one of a squadron of six ships of the line, two frigates and two brigs under Rear-Admiral Willaumez that had, together with a similar squadron under Vice-Admiral Leissègues, escaped from Brest on the 13th December when Cornwallis was driven off his station by bad weather. Leissègues was ordered

Digitized by Google

to reinforce the West Indies and cruise off Jamaica, but Willaumez had instructions to go to St. Helena or the Cape first before proceeding to the West Indies, where he was to cruise off Barbados. One of Willaumez' ships (Veteran, 74) was commanded by Jérome Bonaparte, who was said [1] to hold a commission as Commander-in-Chief of the French possessions east of the Cape, but this seems more than doubtful.

Popham learnt that Leissègues had parted company, but feared that both squadrons, together with that of Linois, might attack the Cape when they heard of its capture; however, information brought by a neutral vessel on 20th March shewed that at any rate Willaumez was still ignorant of the change on 20th February.

None of these expected enemies ever arrived. Leissègues went direct to the West Indies as ordered, and there Duckworth put an end to his activities on 6th February. Willaumez had nearly reached the Cape when he captured an English merchantman and learnt that the English were in occupation. He put about at once, and after cruising in the South Atlantic made for the West Indies and thence home. Jérome Bonaparte was nearly captured, but was lucky enough just to escape by running into Concarneau, much to the surprise of the inhabitants, who had never seen a ship of the line there before. Linois hung about on the trade route between St. Helena and the Canaries and had determined to make his way back to France when on 13th March he fell in with a squadron under Sir John Borlase Warren, who had been sent out to Madeira to look for the escaped Brest squadrons. Linois, who had now only the Marengo, 74, and Belle Poule, 40, mistook the British ships for merchantmen under convoy and made for them. This error cost him his life and both ships were captured.

Popham did not know what had happened to these squadrons, but on the 13th April, believing there was no longer any danger to fear from any French force, tired of 'a state of cold defensive inactivity,' anxious to acquire some glory for himself by an attack on the weak Spanish

[1] Baird to Colonel Gordon, 8th March, 1806.

Digitized by Google

Settlements in South America, and perhaps anticipating supersession by Troubridge from the East Indies, he quitted the Cape and sailed for the River Plate, an act that led subsequently to his trial by Court Martial.

On his way out Popham, apparently without any authority, had advanced himself to the rank of Commodore 1st Class, and transferred Captain Downman from the Diomede to serve under him in the Diadem. The consequent removes and promotions met with the disapproval of the Admiralty, who refused to confirm them, but Popham was authorised to retain the broad pendant, or, in other words, was recognised as a Commodore, 2nd Class.

For fuller details of the expedition to the Cape the student may consult:

'The Life of Sir David Baird,' by Theodore Hook.
'Records of the Cape Colony,' Vol. V., 1803–6, by G. M. Theal.
'Recollections of the British Army in the Early Campaigns of the Revolutionary War,' by Lieut.-Colonel Fletcher Wilkie. (This appeared anonymously in the United Service Journal for 1836.)
'Gleanings and Remarks collected during many months residence at Buenos Ayres . . .,' by Alexander Gillespie, Major, Royal Marines.

Wilkie and Gillespie were eye-witnesses. The former was serving as Captain in the 38th Foot under Beresford and the latter was the Lieutenant of Marines in Popham's ship. Wilkie's opinion of Popham is worth quoting, as it is very shrewd:

I should certainly say that he was not what is called one of Nelson's sailors—neither was he what another Navy man of some celebrity has been named, 'a soldier on board ship,'—the nearest thing I can imagine was a diplomatist afloat. He had led a sort of miscellaneous life—had been employed on gunboat service, forwarding pontoons, and such duty, under the Duke of York, in Holland—who ever afterwards remained his friend; he was then concerned in some private trade—the less said of that the better; at length he was appointed to his present command. He possessed what the

Digitized by Google

Scotch call a good deal of *cleverality*—was very conversant with the details of landing and embarking troops—had made considerable improvements, and given greater scope to the code of telegraphic signals—could run up the repairs of a ship, to make them cut a respectable appearance in the annual expenditure—and could plunder an enemy's dockyard in the most complete and scientific manner. In his manners and address he was gentlemanlike and insinuating—and his powers with the pen need not be doubted, as they got him from between the horns of a dilemma, perhaps more awkward than ever was previously encountered by any public man. Amongst his own officers he was very popular—he took them always wherever there was a prospect of prize-money—and everything in the shape of promotion, that fell at all within his power, he gave to the squadron. To do him justice, also, as regarded ourselves, he spared neither trouble nor expense to ensure the health of the troops. We had fruit served out in abundance both at Madeira and Bahia—and at the latter place he bought the entire cargo of a ship loaded with London porter, which was served without discrimination to all hands. We had roomy ships, great attention to cleanliness—and all these combined brought us to the Cape in the most perfect health. I shall mention, as an instance, the regiment to which I belonged myself. We embarked 903 rank and file from Cork, and landed 901 at the Cape—one man having died of consumption, and another detained on board by accident. I question if, in any other of the most favoured situations in the world, the result would have been equally good, out of a body of 900 men thus confined for six months on board ship.

Those who have studied the statistics of disease in other expeditions will realise that Popham was at any rate Nelsonic in one important respect.

W. G. P.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CASTLEREAGH TO THE ADMIRALTY

Most secret.

Downing Street, July 25, 1805.

My Lords,—Information having been received by his Majesty's Ministers which renders it expedient, in their opinion, to recommend to his Majesty that an expedition should be immediately undertaken for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, and his Majesty having approved thereof, and signified his pleasure that the military force mentioned in the margin should be commanded by Major-General Sir David Baird, and that the naval force, as stated in the margin [1] should, upon your recommendation, be commanded by Captain Sir Home Popham, I am now to enclose to your Lordships a copy of the instructions which have been given to Sir David Baird for his guidance, and I am to signify to you his Majesty's commands, that you do take the necessary measures, in conformity with those instructions.

With this view, you will order Sir Home Popham in the Diadem to proceed ostensibly to Gibraltar; you will also direct that the Diomede should, taking under convoy a transport with 220 dragoons and four provision transports at Portsmouth and touching at Plymouth for another transport with a company of artillery on board, proceed ostensibly to the same destination.

[1] See list on p. 208 below.

Digitized by Google

Your Lordships will issue the necessary orders for the Captain of the Belliqueux to proceed with the convoy to India without delay; and, further, you will give instructions to the senior officer of the convoy now at Cork to proceed with the Narcissus and Leda, with the forces that are to act under Sir David Baird, ostensibly for the Mediterranean. You will, at the same time, furnish the said three officers with secret and sealed orders, to be opened in a proper latitude, to the following effect.

You will enclose to Sir Home Popham a copy of the orders which have been given to Sir David Baird, and direct him to proceed to Madeira, there to take under his command the Belliqueux and the East India convoy, and also the Narcissus and Leda, and the Cork convoy: and I herewith transmit to your Lordships the necessary instructions from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the officers commanding their ships, which Sir Home Popham will communicate when he thinks it expedient.

Upon the union of the whole force at Madeira, Sir Home Popham will concert measures with Sir David Baird for proceeding against the Cape in the manner most likely to ensure success. You will issue sealed orders to the Commander of the Belliqueux to proceed, with the convoy under his charge, to Madeira, where he is to wait for the arrival of Sir Home Popham, and, upon his arrival, to place himself under his command. By sealed orders, your lordships will also direct the Captain of the Narcissus to proceed with the Cork convoy to Madeira there to wait the arrival of Sir Home Popham and to place himself under his orders; and you will further issue similar sealed orders to

Digitized by Google

the Commanders of the Diomede and Raisonable. As the success of this enterprise may depend upon secrecy and surprise, your Lordships will particularly enjoin the importance of not suffering the destination of this force to transpire at Madeira, or elsewhere, on its passage.

It is desirable that Sir Home Popham should be directed to sail with as little delay as possible; the East India convoy may be despatched as soon as it is deemed safe for a fleet to proceed to the westward; and the Cork convoy be ordered to sail for its ostensible destination as soon as Sir David Baird shall arrive there, to whom your Lordships will entrust the sealed orders which are to be sent to the Commander of the Narcissus, and your ostensible orders may be forwarded by the ordinary mail.

I have, [etc.]

CASTLEREAGH.

[*Enclosure*]

INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR D. BAIRD.

July 25, 1805.

Sir,—In consequence of information having been received that the Cape is now defended by not more than from 1500 to 2000 regular troops, not of the best description, and that the militia and inhabitants look with anxiety for the arrival of a British force, and also from the facility afforded to an operation against that settlement from the troops now embarked and proceeding to India being applicable, without inconvenience, to this service, in progress to their ultimate destination; it has been determined on to attempt the reduction of the Colony by the combined operation

Digitized by Google

of a force from Cork, added to that now on board the East India Company's ships at Falmouth.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to select you for the command of this expedition, and that directions have been given to embark, with the utmost despatch, the regiments named in the margin,[1] in transports now lying at Cork. As the troops cantoned in the neighbourhood of Cork have been directed to embark on board transports which are kept constantly in readiness, and victualled for six months, I have every reason to hope that the armament will be in readiness to put to sea in the course of a few days; and the whole Naval and Military Force, when assembled at the Madeiras, will be as follows:—

Raisonable	64 Guns	
Diadem	64 ,,	
Diomede	50 ,,	
Belliqueux	64 ,,	
Narcissus	32 ,,	
Leda	32 ,,	
24th Foot		504
38th ,,		925
59th ,,		1000
71st ,,		768
72nd ,,		730
83rd ,,		750
93rd ,,		890
20th Light Dragoons		221
Artillery and Artificers		320
Recruits		546
Rank and file		6654

[1] 24th Foot, 38th Foot, 71st Foot, 72nd Foot, 83rd Foot, 93rd Foot.

Digitized by Google

It is of the utmost importance that the object of this expedition should not transpire, and lest the enemy should be apprised of your approach, the troops at Cork have been directed to embark under your command *for the Mediterranean.*

The India fleet has been ordered to proceed at once *to India.* Both fleets will sail with these ostensible destinations; but having sealed orders to be opened in a certain latitude, directing them to rendezvous at the Madeiras, where the whole Naval and Military Force (including the Company's ships) will be directed to place themselves under your orders and those of Sir Home Popham.

It is his Majesty's pleasure that you delay as short a time as possible at Madeira, and that even there every precaution be taken to prevent the immediate object of the expedition from being made public, which will best be done by giving out that the Cork fleet is to separate, at a certain latitude, for the West Indies. Having departed from the Madeiras, you are to proceed at once to the Cape, unless the officer in command of his Majesty's ships should think it advisable to touch at St. Helena, in which case you will use your utmost diligence to obtain the latest and most precise information with respect to the state of the Cape, its garrison, defences, means of subsistence, &c.; and you will confer with the Governor of St. Helena (who is directed to render you every aid consistent with the security of the island) as to the possibility of making any of the resources at his disposal applicable to the success of the expedition.

Having arrived off the Cape you will, if you should have no previous reason to suppose that your approach has transpired, endeavour, by a vigorous and immediate attack (having previously

Digitized by Google

summoned the garrison to surrender), to avail yourself of the probable neglect of due vigilance and precaution on the part of the garrison.

As it is not impossible, however, that two French ships of the line which sailed in May from Rochefort, with troops on board, and which are yet unaccounted for, may have thrown themselves into the Cape, with a reinforcement of [from 1000 to 1200] [1] troops, you will not rely with too much confidence on the enemy's means of resistance being confined to the number stated at the outset of these instructions.

Should you be of opinion that the reduction of the place may be facilitated by opening a communication with the inhabitants and persons in authority, you are authorised and directed, in conjunction with the officer in command of his Majesty's naval force (taking care not to waste too much time in such negociations) to grant to the garrison and the inhabitants such favourable and liberal terms of capitulation as may appear to you best calculated to acquire the possession of the place in the most expeditious manner, and with the least loss or hazard to the ships and troops employed on this service.

Upon the surrender of the place to his Majesty's arms, taking possession of it in the King's name, and duly attending to the stipulations of any capitulation which may be previously agreed on, you will take upon yourself, under the title of Lieutenant-Governor, the civil government of the Settlement, till his Majesty's further pleasure is declared, and continue to carry on the administration (preserving to the inhabitants the enjoyment of their private property, usages and religion) as nearly as may be according to the system laid

[1] Not in the Admiralty copy.

Digitized by Google

down and established by his Majesty's authority during the late war, and under which the Colony enjoyed, till the period of its restitution, so much prosperity and happiness.

As I understand the troops now in garrison at the Cape are mostly Germans, and much disgusted with the Dutch service, you will take the earliest opportunity of inducing them to enter into his Majesty's 60th Regiment, attaching them in equal proportions as supernumeraries to the regiments in garrison, until measures can be taken for transferring them under their own officers. If, after using your best endeavours to procure the whole of these men for the King's service in the manner above directed, any foreigners (not being French subjects), having so declined to engage, should nevertheless be willing to enlist for service in the East Indies, you will engage them for the service of the East India Company, according to the terms of enlistment usual in the European branch of their army, a statement of which you will receive herewith enclosed, and you will use your own discretion in retaining or enlisting Hottentots, in case the public service shall appear to you absolutely to require that this additional expense should be incurred.

As it is important that the Company's ships directed to co-operate in this expedition, and placed with a view to this special service under the orders of the Naval Officer in command, should be delayed at the Cape for as short a time as possible, I have his Majesty's commands to direct that you use your utmost diligence to have the troops and recruits destined for India expeditiously re-embarked, in order that they may proceed under the convoy of the Belliqueux to their ulterior destination; notifying by them, or by

Digitized by Google

the earliest opportunity which you can find, the surrender of the Cape to the several Presidencies in India, in order that the accustomed intercourse with the Colony may be opened, and such supplies received as may be required for the use of the Settlement.

In the event of circumstances arising, either to discourage you from landing the troops, or, in the event of your having made good your landing, to determine you to desist from the enterprise (contingencies, I trust, equally improbable), it is his Majesty's pleasure (the India ships being detached to their destination) that you do return with the remainder of your force to St. Helena, there to refresh the Troops and Squadron, and to receive further orders for the direction of your conduct.

In case you should not find any fresh instructions at St. Helena, continuing there not more than fifteen days, unless the refreshment of the squadron should render a longer stay indispensable, you will, at the end of that period, return to Cork, unless you should receive a different destination at Fayal, one of the Western Islands,[1] where you are directed to call and inquire for orders.

His Majesty has entrusted to you the conduct of the military part of this service, under a full confidence in your experience, zeal, and discretion; and his Majesty implicitly relies on your cultivating the most cordial, good understanding with the officer to whom the command of his naval forces has been confided. The ultimate success of the expedition principally depending on the cordial co-operation of the respective services. His Majesty is persuaded that their united exertions

[1] 'The Madeiras' in another copy.

Digitized by Google

will be such as to entitle them to his Majesty's gracious and unqualified approbation.

I have, [etc.]

CASTLEREAGH.

CASTLEREAGH TO BARHAM

St. James's Square, July 25, 1805.

My dear Lord,—Having completed the necessary instructions to Sir David Baird, and examined those prepared by your lordship's directions to the several naval officers, which appear to me perfectly clear and correct, I have nothing further to suggest, except the expediency of furnishing the expedition with two light cutters; they may be useful in the landing, and will, at all events, be requisite for sending intelligence to Europe and India. If they sail a week after the others are gone, they will reach Madeira before the expedition sails.

There are two officers now at Colchester, who served with the Hottentots, whom it would be desirable to forward by them. The Duke of York will take care to send them to the point of embarkation, upon your lordship fixing a time. I begged, however, his Royal Highness not to call upon them till all the main branches of the expedition were gone, as we have already called principally upon officers who have served in the quarter where we intend to operate, and it is better they should follow with sealed orders similar to those given to the other ships.

I am, [etc.]

CASTLEREAGH.

Digitized by Google

ADMIRALTY TO POPHAM

By the Commissioners, [&c.]

The Lord Viscount Castlereagh one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State having, with his letter to us of the 25th of July, transmitted a Copy of the Instructions which, by command of His Majesty, he had furnished to Major-General Sir David Baird, commanding His Majesty's Land Forces on an expedition for attempting the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, on the subject of which the Major-General has been directed to communicate with you in the most confidential manner, and to concert with you such measures as may be best for His Majesty's service; we transmit to you herewith a copy of the said instructions for your information, together with copies of the instructions from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor and Council of St. Helena, also to the officers commanding their ships, which you will communicate to the said Governor and Council and to the said officers as you shall think it expedient; and we do hereby require and direct you to communicate in the most confidential manner with Major-General Sir David Baird, to furnish him with all the information in your power, and to co-operate with him in the execution of His Majesty's commands, concerting such measures with the Major-General for proceeding against the Cape in the manner which may be most likely to insure success. On your arrival at Madeira, you will take under your command His Majesty's ships named in the margin [1] (which you may expect to find there,

[1] Belliqueux, Raisonable, Diomede, Narcissus, Leda, Espoir and Encounter.

Digitized by Google

and the captains of which are directed to follow your orders) together with the transports, victuallers and Indiamen; and, on your leaving this island, you will appoint to the several captains and commanders such rendezvous, in case of separation, as may be judged most likely to enable you to arrive off the Cape with the whole of your collected force. Upon the surrender of the Settlement to His Majesty's arms, you are to use your utmost diligence, as far as may depend on you, to have the troops and recruits destined for India expeditiously re-embarked, in order that they may proceed, under the convoy of the Belliqueux, to their ulterior destination; notifying by them, or by the earliest opportunity which you can find, the surrender of the Cape to the two commanders-in-chief of His Majesty's Naval Forces, in the Indian Seas, in order that the accustomed communication with the Colony may again be opened.

And you are further directed, as soon as the object of the expedition shall be accomplished, to send the Raisonable to St. Helena, with orders to take under her convoy such of the vessels of the East India Company and others, as may be collected at that Island, and proceed with them to Spithead.

In the event of circumstances arising, which may make it expedient to desist from the enterprise, you are, nevertheless, to detach the India ships to their destination, under the convoy of the Belliqueux, and to return with the remainder of your force and transports to St. Helena; and not finding there any fresh instructions, after waiting fifteen days or longer, if it shall be found expedient, you will proceed to Cork, with the ships and transports under your convoy, unless you shall receive a different destination at Port Praya in

Digitized by Google

St. Jago where you are directed to call and enquire for orders, leaving, however, at St. Helena the Raisonable, to take under her convoy any of the homeward-bound East India ships, that either may have arrived there, or be expected to arrive within one month, but in the event of none being there, nor any expected in the above-mentioned period, you are to continue the Raisonable under your command, and proceed as before directed.

Immediately after the surrender of the Cape, or in the event of circumstances arising, which may oblige you to desist from the enterprise, you are to dispatch one of the small vessels which will accompany you to England, transmitting to our Secretary for our information an account of your proceedings.

Given under our Hands the 29th July, 1805.

BARHAM
J. GAMBIER
PHILIP PATTON

To Captain Sir Home Popham, Commanding His Majesty's Naval Forces on an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope.

By Command of their Lordships,
John Barrow.

Secret.

Admiralty Office, 2nd August 1805.

Sir,—I am commanded by My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to signify to you their directions to you to send a frigate to cruise on the East Coast of South America between Rio de Janeiro and Rio de la Plata as soon as you shall have accomplished the object of the expedition on which you are about to proceed, for the purpose of procuring intelligence of the enemy's motions,

Digitized by Google

in order that you may be prepared against any attack they may be disposed to make on the Settlement.

I am, [etc.]

Capt. Sir H. Popham.

Admiralty Office, 14th September 1805.

Sir,—I am directed by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to enclose for your information copy of some Intelligence respecting the Cape of Good Hope which has been received at St. Helena by Captain Woodriffe of H.M.S. Calcutta.

I have, [etc.]

JOHN BARROW.

Captain Sir Home Popham,
Com[d]. H.M.S. Diadem
at Madeira.[1]

[*Enclosure*]

Extract of a letter from Capt. D. Woodriff of His Majesty's Ship Calcutta, dated St. Helena Roads, July 25th, 1805.

I have been able to collect a little information, as to the state of the Cape, which I have the honour to transmit in as concise a manner as possible. Stores of any description are in such demand at the Cape that they are not to be had for one thousand per cent., indeed if the Wilhelmina had got to the Cape, she would have enabled them, in some measure, to have sent the only cruiser they have to sea, as she has both canvas and sail twine on board.

I have, [etc.]

D. WOODRIFF.

[1] This letter apparently never reached Popham, but the information it contained is of interest.

Digitized by Google

Query.

What Ships of War have the Dutch at the Cape ?

None, except the Bato of 74 guns laying at Simons Bay, dismantled, her mainmast rotten, with a train ready to destroy her in the event of an enemy approaching. Three ships have already been broken up, for want of stores to equip them. The only cruiser they have is the Jupiter of 400 tons and 18 guns, but she also can't proceed for want of stores.

What has become of the squadron they had there ?

One line of battle ships 2 frigates for the Cape, and Admiral Hartsinck's squadron are now laid up at Batavia, nearly unserviceable, as they were hauled upon the mud.

How are they off for naval stores, and arms and ammunition, for the defence of the place ?

Naval stores they have none whatever ; arms and ammunition sufficient, but answer no salutes, to save useless expense of powder.

What number of troops have they and of what description ?

1500 Regulars, or thereabouts, and 1500 Hottentots, free Blacks, and Burghers of every description.

How are they disposed in the event of the English appearing on the Coast ?

The inhabitants in general are all well disposed towards the English, but the troops are uncertain. The Governor is a brave man and will defend the place to the last.

With what quantity of salt provisions could they supply a squadron of ships of war ?

Nearly all that they took from His Majesty's Stores. About 200 barrels have been expended.

Are any reinforcements expected ?

Digitized by Google

None.

Do they expect a British Force there?

Not now; but they certainly did from the month of September to the month of March.

D. WOODRIFF.

ADMIRALTY TO POPHAM

Draft of instructions to Commodore Sir Home Popham, enclosing copy of an instruction to Major-General Baird sent by the Belle Packet.

By &c., &c., &c

The Lord Viscount Castlereagh, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, having with his letter to us of the 10th September transmitted a copy of an instruction which by command of His Majesty he had furnished to Major-General Sir David Baird, commanding His Majesty's land forces on an Expedition sent out for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope respecting the sending of reinforcements of troops from thence to the settlements in India, we transmit to you herewith a copy of the said Instruction for your information and guidance, and we do hereby require and direct you to co-operate with the Major-General in the execution of His Majesty's commands on the several points contained in the said Instruction as far as it may be in your power, affording him every assistance in the selection of such transports as may be best suited to the service they are required to perform, and sending them under a proper convoy either to Bombay or Calcutta according as the season of the year may afford the best prospect of a safe and expeditious passage.

In the event of its being found absolutely necessary to forward to India the whole force

Digitized by Google

under the command of Sir David Baird (the Royal Artillery, Engineers and Light Dragoons excepted which in this case will return to England under the convoy of one of the frigates together with the Raisonable provided she shall not have left the station) you are [to] proceed to India in the Diadem taking with you the Diomede, and having seen the said transports in safety to the place of their destination with the two ships above mentioned, return to the Cape of Good Hope or to Saint Helena according to circumstances, at one of which places you may expect to find orders for your further proceedings.

As it is of essential importance that such of the Prisoners of War as it may not be expedient to suffer to enlist into the British Service should be sent to Europe as speedily as possible, you are to use your best endeavours, in concert with the Major-General, to procure such tonnage of neutral vessels and others at the Cape for removing the said prisoners as may prevent in as great a degree as possible the encroaching on the Transports attached to the Army, the whole of which would be required in the event of its being found expedient to evacuate the Settlement.

Given under our hands, [etc.]

24th September 1805.

[*Enclosure*]

Most Secret.

Downing Street, 10th September 1805.

Sir,—The last advices received overland from India indicate a disposition on the part of Scindea and the Rajah of Berar (in breach of the Treaties subsisting between them and the East India Company) to enter into a hostile Confederacy with Jeswunt Rao Holkar against the British power.

Digitized by Google

Should such an event actually take place, and contrary to all just expectations, our armies in India experience any serious check, intelligence of which may probably reach you before it can be received in England, I have to convey to you His Majesty's commands that in the event of your having acquired possession of the Cape, provided the exigency of the Company's affairs upon the intelligence you may receive, shall appear to you to be such as to call for reinforcements, that you do without delay, and at the hazard even of reducing your Garrison, for the time, considerably below what is required for the complete defence of the Colony, detach the 38th and 93rd Regiments, consisting of the numbers stated in the margin [38th Regiment, 991 ; 93rd Regiment, 882] to the East Indies, transmitting immediate notice thereof to me in order that adequate reinforcements may be sent out to join you.

It is His Majesty's pleasure that the above Regiments do proceed in such of the Transports now with you, as may be best suited to the service, under a proper convoy (if possible a ship of the Line, on which subject the Officer in Command of His Majesty's Naval Forces will receive the Instructions of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty) and that you do direct them to be landed either at Bombay or Calcutta, according as the season of the year and the state of the winds may afford the best prospect of a safe and expeditious passage.

Should you from any unforeseen circumstances be induced to desist from the enterprise with which you are charged against the Cape, you will, under the contingency above stated, in addition to the two regiments directed by my letter of the 26th of July, to be in that case forwarded to India, make such further detachment as circum-

Digitized by Google

stances may appear to you to require, considering yourself as authorised and directed (if there should appear an adequate necessity) to proceed to India with the whole force under your command; the Royal Artillery, Engineers and Light Dragoons excepted, which you will return to England under convoy of a frigate.

The same precautionary principles which have induced His Majesty to direct the above Instructions to be transmitted to you, have determined His Majesty to give authority to Marquis Cornwallis, or the person in the Chief Command of His Majesty's Troops in India for the time being, to send to the Cape for Reinforcements; and you are hereby directed to comply with any requisition you may receive to that effect.

You are not however to wait for such a requisition being made on you from Bengal, in case you should receive intelligence of the description alluded to in the former part of this dispatch, and in order to render it the more consistent with the security of the place to detach largely from your garrison, you are to take measures as early as possible for sending to Europe such Prisoners of War as you may not find it expedient to suffer to inlist into the British Service; taking care to retain at the Cape as small a proportion as possible of the foreigners so permitted to inlist, should the number of your garrison be materially reduced; and with this view you may attach a considerable proportion of them to the regiments proceeding to India. I trust you will find no difficulty in procuring tonnage at the Cape, for the removal of the Prisoners to Europe, without encroaching on the transports attached to your Army.

I am, [etc.]
(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

Major-General Sir David Baird.

Digitized by Google

POPHAM TO ADMIRALTY

Diadem, Funchal Roads,
28th September 1805.
(rec^{d} 2^{d} Decr.)

Sir,—I had the honour to address you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on the morning of the 1st instant after my return to the Cove of Cork; and at 3 P.M. of the same day the wind flew suddenly round to N.W. b. N. and as the flood was just coming in I made the signal to weigh, as I was apprehensive after the length of time the northerly winds had prevailed, that if this opportunity was missed it might be some time before another even equally favourable presented itself; and to avoid any excuse on the part of the convoy about going out in the night I had previously made an arrangement under the knowledge of all the Commanders that lights should be placed on the Turbot Bank and Rock buoys.

About 9 P.M. the Narcissus made the signal that all the Fleet was out of the Harbour, and while I was wearing to make sail Captain Butterfield, the principal Agent of Transports, hailed me to say that the Diana, one of the Company's ships, had run foul of the William transport having on board the 38th regiment; sprung her own bowsprit in such a manner as not to be able to proceed and carried away the William's mizenmast and wheel, and that they were both anchored on the outer edge of the bank. Under the circumstances then existing of its blowing fresh, threatening more wind, most of the convoy off the bank and well to the southward, I left the Narcissus, Leda, and Diomede to take out the troops, or bring on the ships if practicable, and the damage should be repaired at sea, and I collected the convoy ready to heave to at daylight S.W. of Cork. On the following morning I was sorry to find the Sir John

Digitized by Google

Warren transport without a mizenmast, which had been carried away in the night by the Belliqueux, but I directed that ship to keep her in charge until she had repaired her damage and rigged a jury mizen-mast. In the evening of the same day, 1st September, the Narcissus, Diomede and Leda, joined with the William transport in tow and the troops from the Diana, which I distributed among the men of war, and rigged a jury mizen-mast for the William. We had very unsettled weather, the wind from West to N.W. and on the 6th at night a heavy gale of wind from the Westward. In the morning the convoy was much scattered, but were collected before sunset, except the William Pitt East Indiaman and the Jack Brig. The Ocean transport had carried away the head of her main mast, and some trifling damage was done amongst the rest of the convoy. On the 16th the William Pitt rejoined, having been obliged to bear up in the gale to clear themselves of the quantity of water they had allowed to lodge on the upper deck.

As the passage had hitherto been very tedious from the prevalence of S.W. winds, I judged it expedient on the 14th to send the Leda to Madeira with the principal Agent of Transport on board to prepare water, that not a moment might be lost in completing the fleet. On the 19th we had another strong gale in which the Indefatigable transport lost the head of her mizen-mast; and some few their top-gallant masts, owing in a great measure to the neglect of the masters. On the 21st the Jack joined us, and from that time we had light Southerly and S.S.E. winds 'till yesterday when we made the land and anchored in Funchal Roads this morning with the whole of our convoy, a list of which I have the honour to enclose herewith for their Lordships information.

Digitized by Google

I found here the Raisonable; the Malabar, Dart, Dolphin and Chichester storeships, with the West India convoy. The Espoir arrived the evening before us, and the Encounter and Protector gun brigs the morning after. The West Indian fleet will be ready to sail on the 2nd or 3rd of October and the two fleets will sail together. I shall have the honour of addressing you again for their Lordships further information on the day we sail from hence.

I am, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

P.S.—I also transmit an abstract of the state and condition of His Majesty's ships and vessels under my orders. H. P.

William Marsden Esq.

A list of the Honorable East India Company's Ships and Transports, having on board His Majesty's Troops, under the Convoy of His Majesty's Ship Diadem.

East India Company's Ships.

Glory William Pitt Comet Sarah Christiana Northampton Europe Sir W. Pulteney Union Jane Duchess of Gordon Streatham Varunna } Country ships Maria } Euphrates Britannia Northumberland William Pitt—Botany Bay Ship	Having on board His Majesty's 59th Regiment of Foot; besides recruits for different Regiments in India

Digitized by Google

Transports.

	Bellona	Having on board His Majesty's 93rd & 38th Regts. of Foot.
	Sir J. B. Warren	
	Anacreon	
	Harbinger	
	Majestic	
	Elizabeth	
103...	Indefatigable	
	Amphitrite	24th Regt. of Foot Royal Artillery & Dismounted Dragoons.
	Traveller	
	Atlas	
	Agnes	
	Fame	
	Anne	
	Francis & Eliza	
	Elisha Tupper	
	Charlotte	
	Harriott	
	Walker	
	Milantho	
	Zephyr	
	Harlekin	
	Messenger	
	King George	
	William	
	Triton	
	Indefatigable	
	Simpson	
	Paragon	
	Seahorse	
	Whitby	
	Union	
	Willington	
	Ocean	
	Jack	
	Sarah . .	. Hospital and Medical Stores.
	Albion. .	. General Baggage and Horses.
	Juno	Victuallers.
	Golden Grove	
	Wilding	

HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

Diadem to Leeward of Funchal,
3rd October 1805.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the West India convoy with the armament under my command is now nearly all under weigh, with the men of war named in the margin. [Diadem, Raisonable, Belliqueux, Narcissus, Leda, Diomede, L'Espoir; Protector and Encounter gun brigs.]

I deemed it right to render the destination of the armament as equivocal as possible, to give Captain Hall and all the ships with him an order to put themselves under my command, with ostensible sealed rendezvous, and included them in the general furnishing arrangement for a marine battalion; but I shall make a signal to open their ostensible rendezvous immediately, which contains directions for them to follow their former orders.

I have great satisfaction in assuring their Lordships that the seamen and troops are remarkably healthy, and that out of the eight Regiments there are only nineteen men in the hospital ship.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

William Marsden Esq.

Diadem. At sea.
October 7th 1805.
[Rec^{d} 22 Feb. 1806.]

Sir,—I have the honour to enclose to you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty a copy of the instructions I gave to Captain Ross Donnelly of His Majesty's Ship Narcissus, and am

[etc.],
HOME POPHAM.

To William Marsden Esq.

Digitized by Google

(*Enclosure.*)

Most Secret.

By Commodore Sir Home Popham, K.M., commanding a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships employed on a particular Service.

To Captain Ross Donnelly commanding
H.M. Ship the Narcissus.

It having been determined by His Majesty's Government to attempt a reduction of the important Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope by the armament under command of Sir David Baird and myself, I consider it expedient to detach an officer of intelligence, resource, and activity for the purpose of procuring the latest information as to the actual state of the garrison, in point of strength, and the situation of the Colony in regard to its political feeling and comfort.

With respect to the garrison, it will be desirable to know if any reinforcements have been sent there from Europe since the beginning of April of the present year, to which time we have accounts to be depended on.

To accomplish these objects in the first instance, you will proceed with all imaginable despatch to the Island of St. Helena with the accompanying packet to the Governor, who has been regular in his examination of all neutral vessels from the Cape, and he will put you in possession of such intelligence as he has procured; he will supply you with refreshments and give every aid to enable you to quit the Island with every possible despatch.

You will then proceed off the Cape of Good Hope, where in carrying the object of your mission into effect much must be left to your judgment

Digitized by Google

and discretion either in confirming the intelligence you have received at St. Helena or procuring fresh intelligence.

It is necessary in the first place to state that I shall proceed to Rio de Janeiro to complete our water. I calculate on a passage of five weeks there—one to remain, and three or four from thence to the Cape ; and as the Southerly winds will then have set in, I shall in course make the land well to the Southward. If you happen to be fortunate in your passage and equally so in boarding any vessel immediately from the Cape, it may be a very good and political deception to get to the Southward between Cape False and Lagullas for a day or two for the chance of boarding any vessel bound into the Cape, pretending to be bound to India with despatches of Peace between England and France ; the Cape is to be ceded to Great Britain, and Trinidad to Spain, and Ceylon to the Batavian Republic.

If however you should not, while to the Northward of the Cape, fall in with any vessel from thence bound to Europe to give you intelligence you must then consider whether it will not be advisable under fair opportunity and towards the close of the evening to disguise the Narcissus and pretend to be going into Table Bay under French Colours, keeping well to the Westward that you may not be able to fetch, and as soon as it is dark run to leeward, but appear on the following day anxious to work in for several hours and then ostensibly bear up and set studding sails as if bound to Europe after failing in your attempt to get in.

These are mere deceptions and expedients to obtain the object in view, to be applied according to circumstances and governed by the principles

Digitized by Google

of discretion, to which you have full authority to add any others that may strike you, and sanctioned by this to do whatever else you may consider right to obtain the purpose for which you are detached.

Given under my hand on board His Majesty's Ship Diadem at sea, this 4th day of October, 1805.

(Sgd.) HOME POPHAM.

By command of the Commodore.
(Sgd.) Wm. Robertson.

POPHAM TO ADMIRALTY

Diadem. At sea.
October 10th, 1805.

Sir,—On a thorough conviction that the Public Service would be materially benefited by calling in the assistance of an officer of rank in the arduous task of superintending the various duties inseparable from an armament of such consequence as the one under the command of General Sir David Baird and myself, and having had an opportunity of seeing their Lordships approbation of the conduct of Captain Losack in their letter of the 1st of February 1804 to the Navy Board in a case somewhat analogous, though under circumstances by no means so imperious, either with respect to the exigency or dignity of the Service, I determined to accept the aid of Captain Downman who in a very handsome manner offered to act as Captain of the Diadem on this occasion, and under the precedent already cited I thought it expedient to appoint him to the Diadem.

I beg to refer their Lordships to the arguments used by Captain Losack which severally met their approbation; and in addition I take the liberty of stating the much greater extent of business to

Digitized by Google

be attended to in point of fact and detail in proceeding towards, and gaining possession of the spot where he found it so indispensably necessary to reside. To this I may venture to assert that my seniority on the list is far beyond what his was at the time he was appointed a Captain to the Jupiter; and that several of the Captains of my squadron are senior Colonels, speaking relatively of rank, to Generals Beresford and Ferguson the second and third in command of the Army under General Sir David Baird, and

If to these reasons I assure their Lordships I had no pride to gratify in pursuing this measure, or any object to attain but that of commanding every assistance to fulfil the object of their Lordships instructions, I trust it will be viewed by them in the same light as that which I have already quoted, and that I shall receive their approbation of my conduct in making this temporary arrangement.

The changes which this measure has occasioned I have the honour to transmit for their Lordships approbation, and I beg to recommend to their notice Lieutenant King who has been in the Service twenty-six years, and served fifteen years as a Lieutenant with great reputation.

I have, [etc.]

HOME POPHAM.

List of changes and appointments made by Commodore Sir Home Popham, K.M.

Captain Hugh Downman from the Diomede to the Diadem.

Joseph Edmonds Esqr. Commander of the Espoir appointed to the Diomede.

Lieutenant William King of the Diadem appointed to command the Espoir.

Digitized by Google

Lieutenant Daniel Ross of the Diomede appointed Commodore's Lieutenant.

Mr. John Frederick Parker Master's Mate of the Diadem appointed to the Diomede, in the room of Lieutenant Daniel Ross.

Mr. William Henry Herrick of the Leda, appointed to the Diadem, in the room of Lieutenant William King appointed to the Espoir.

HOME POPHAM.

His Majesty's Ship Diadem,
St. Salvador.
18th November 1805.

Sir,—I had the honour of addressing you on the 3rd ulto., when we were under weigh from Madeira, at which time, although as a matter of precaution a rendezvous was given for Rio de Janeiro, yet no positive decision of touching anywhere had been made; we procured a little water at the Island, but I was so anxious to get away, particularly as the West India Convoy was ready, with whom we sailed, that all other objects ceded to the advantage of availing ourselves of such an opportunity to mask our destination.

Soon after we left Madeira it was found to be impossible to go on without touching somewhere, and St. Salvador was fixed on to water at for the following reasons:

First, because it was rather less out of the way than Rio de Janeiro.

Secondly, it was much more healthy.

Thirdly, not being the seat of Government there was less chance of interruption, and less probability of any French interest taking those advantages that it has been in the habit of doing on all similar occasions.

Fourthly, because ships can at all times get out of St. Salvador, and their being able to get

Digitized by Google

out of Rio de Janeiro is very problematical; indeed one of the Commanders of the India ships told me that on his last voyage they were detained three weeks with strong Southerly winds.

Fifthly, because it was considered that there would be less difficulty in procuring a few horses, which the General was most anxious to do, and from the accounts we heard of Rio de Janeiro the attainment of that object was most completely out of the question. I shall have the honour of offering a few more observations on this subject on the first occasion preferable to a foreign ship.

We had very favourable weather and by keeping considerably further to the Westward than is ever customary, we avoided the calms and rains so invariably met with at this season to the Eastward. I have been 35 days in a single ship crossing the line from Madeira, by keeping to the Eastward, and deluged with rain; which would have brought some epidemical sickness in transports so crowded; on the contrary there are not above sixty men sick in the whole armament.

A Portuguese ship which we fell in with six days before we made Madeira arrived two days after us at this Port; two others, one 51 days from Lisbon, the other 57 days from Oporto, arrived at the same time, but they kept to the Eastward; and Captain Rowley boarded another who had been becalmed twenty days in 3° N. Latitude, 27° 30′ West Long.

On the 20th I despatched the Espoir to examine the capability of the Port and prepare everything ready to water with every imaginable despatch, and conceiving it would very materially advance the Service by detaching a division of the ships, I selected the 12 fastest ships, and on the 26th I sent them under convoy of the Leda, with the

Digitized by Google

expectation that they would be watered previous to our arrival at St. Salvador. On the 2nd instant in the morning I made the signal by telegraph to Captain Rowley to lead the convoy, and steer S. by E. if the wind would allow him, and I should make sail to keep between him and the coast. At noon on the same day, being very nearly in the longitude of the Roccas according to the Eastermost Chart, we discovered them bearing S.W. b. S. to S.W. After taking a good view of them we were to join the convoy and perceiving they could not all weather the Keys, we bore up and lay-to close to leeward of them, and when we were in the act of hoisting a boat out to examine the shoal while all the convoy were coming up, the Leda was discovered to leeward with a signal to speak us. On Captain Honyman's coming on board he informed me that on the night of the 31st ulto. he was close in with the Rocks, and that the Britannia East Indiaman, and King George struck; the former got off, but made so much water afterwards that she sunk; and the latter bilged and very soon fell over. Everybody was saved from the King George except General Yorke and one Bombardier, and everybody from the Britannia, except one man (the Boatswain's yeoman). The particulars of these circumstances will accompany this letter in a copy of Captain Honyman's relation of the facts, the protests of the Commander of the Britannia and Master of the King George, and the result of a Court of Inquiry, consisting of three Commanders of the Company's ships on Captain Birch for the loss of the Britannia.

On the 4th of November we made the coast of Brazil, and on the 10th we anchored here; every exertion is using to complete the water of the different ships by all the boats that can be pro-

Digitized by Google

cured from the shore, but the restrictions and forms of the Portuguese Government militate so strongly against any extraordinary expedition, that their Lordships will, I hope, consider this on estimating the time we have taken to complete our water and equip the ships.

I annex for their Lordships information an account of all the defects of the Men of War and transports; and such was the state of these transports' masts and yards mentioned in the defects, that if we had met with a gale of wind the consequences to the expedition would certainly have been of the most serious moment; indeed many of the transports are very ill fitted, and several of them too small for such a voyage, which has occasioned a considerable delay. No vessel to cross the S.E. Trade with troops should ever be less than three hundred tons. The Men of War are almost constantly obliged to take the brigs in tow on a wind.

The Raisonable will move down the harbour with the first division to-morrow or next day, and the other ships shall follow with all imaginable despatch.

I hope I shall be excused by their Lordships for entering more fully on any subject, as this despatch is to go by a foreign ship, as doubtful in principles as she may be in character.

We have received every possible assistance in equipping the ships from Henrique de Ponseau Souze Prego, the Intendant of the Port, who appears to act on principle and to study the honour and credit of his Court as a faithful ally to Great Britain, on which account I humbly request their Lordships to cause his good conduct to be publicly noticed. I have, [etc.]

HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

P.S. I have waited until the last moment for Captain Honyman's Report, and as the Portuguese Captain has been to acquaint me that he is going to sail immediately, I am obliged to close without it; however, it shall be sent by the first opportunity.

I send an Abstract of the state and conditions of H.M. Ships and Vessels under my orders.

His Majesty's Ship Diadem,
St. Salvador.
19th November 1805.

Sir,—I consider it right when I enclose to you for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the copy of Captain Honyman's official letter to me on the subject of the loss of the King George transport and Britannia Indiaman to state the following circumstances with a view of putting their Lordships fully in possession of the case.

In the course of my first conversation with Captain Honyman on the subject, I stated to him that as I did not consider a Court of Inquiry strictly speaking as a legal Court, I did not like to order one for fear it should *be resisted*; but soon after this conversation I wrote the letter to him which produced the enclosed answer.

In observing however to their Lordships on this answer, it is necessary I should state two circumstances, that I lent to the Leda a chronometer, which I from time to time compared with those I had on board, and supplied her with one of the same charts with which I furnished all the transports, and such Men of War as required them. I mention this because it is more than probable their Lordships may hear I lent a time piece to

Digitized by Google

that ship as well as others, for I had nine of my own. And from the statement made by Captain Honyman (who however has told me he had not been in the habit of using a time piece and had left the charge of it to the Master), it may appear that the time piece proved to be erroneous whereas the contrary was the case.

The statement asserts that at 8 o'clock in the evening of the 31st of October, the watch gave the Longitude 33° 5′, but as I know no person in the Leda was competent to determine the mean time by the altitude of a star, that Longitude was brought on by dead reckoning from the morning, or the day before, which is at least trusting to twelve hours, at the place where the Western current runs the strongest, for if altitudes had been taken in the evening or by the stars at night these altitudes would have pointed out the exact situation and defined the strength of the current, as their Lordships will see by a copy of the day's work which Captain Honyman gave me close under the shoal, and this day's work states that the ship by the Chronometer is in the Longitude of 34° 00′ W., while the shoal bore S.E. b. S. 10 miles, which bearing will give nearly six miles Easting, and consequently it makes the shoal in 33° 54′ W. The time pieces I had on board the Diadem laid it down in from 33° 50′ to 33° 56′, and the charts already alluded to, which were published by Laurie & Whittle in 1802 and dedicated to Sir Robert Preston make the Shoals lie in 33° 57′.

I have troubled their Lordships very much in detail on the subject of the time pieces because I deem it possible that in the exercise of various vindictive talents and imaginations, some may endeavour to promulgate an idea that I had lent to the ships of my squadron aberrating chrono-

Digitized by Google

meters in which I could not place myself any reliance whatever.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

ADMIRALTY TO POPHAM

By etc., etc.

In pursuance of the King's pleasure signified to us by the Right Honourable Lord Castlereagh, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, in his letter of this day's date, you are hereby required and directed in the event of the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope to His Majesty's Arms to send home without delay under a proper convoy all the transports which are not wanted for the conveyance of the Troops ordered to proceed to the East Indies.

Given under our hands the 21st of November, 1805.

P. STEPHENS.
J. GAMBIER.
W. DICKENSON.

To Commodore Sir Home Popham,
Cape of Good Hope.

By command of their Lordships.
W. M.

By the Porpoise Storeship
Duplicate by the Belle Packet
Triplicate by Adamant

POPHAM TO ADMIRALTY

Diadem, St. Salvador.
November 26th, 1805.

Sir,—I beg you will do me the honour to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that

Digitized by Google

the Squadron, Transports and Indiamen as per enclosed list, are now about to get under weigh; the defects of the transports, and the number of lower masts and boltsprits astonished me beyond anything I can express, for not having heard the least complaint in that respect till I arrived here, I did hope, with the exception of those ships which lost their mizen masts, that we should have had little to do. The quantity of water necessary however for such a number of people took nearly as long as the reparation of the defects; and indeed if it had not been for the great exertions of the Intendant of the Port, it would have taken much longer.

The Fleet of Transports I am sorry to say came out of England very ill equipped, and to my great astonishment some of them had but a fortnight's bread on board, by their returns in this port. Many of them sail very ill, and the brigs by no means fit for such a voyage, and there are three or four of them almost constantly in tow of the Men of War.

From the defects already transmitted, from the quantity of water and other necessaries to be procured for the armament, I trust their Lordships will be satisfied that not a moment's time has been lost; but I cannot conclude this letter without observing that I expected from Captain Butterfield the Principal Agent of Transports more system and more cordial co-operation in the general duty of his department. Sir David Baird has I understand written so fully to the Secretary of State on this subject that I need not trouble their Lordships any further.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

Diadem, Table Bay,
January 13th 1806.

Sir,—When I address you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on an occasion of such public interest and importance as the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, which is now in possession of His Majesty's troops under that renowned General Sir David Baird, I consider it unnecessary to trouble their Lordships with a detailed account of the proceedings of the fleet from St. Salvador, which however will be conveyed in another despatch.

On the 3rd instant we made Table Land and on the 4th in the evening we reached our preconcerted anchorage to the eastward of Robben Island though too late to do anything but take a superficial view of Blue Berg Bay, where it was proposed to land the main body of the Army, making however a demonstration off Green Point with the Leda frigate and the transports containing the 24th Regiment, which was certainly very well executed by Captain Honyman.

On the 5th at 3 o'clock in the morning the troops were put in the boats and assembled alongside of the Espoir, but the surf ran so high that a landing was deemed totally impracticable and consequently the troops returned to their ships, and I immediately accompanied the General on board the Espoir for the purpose of making a close examination of the whole coast from Craig's Tower to Losperd's Bay; on no part of which did it appear possible to land a single boat without extreme danger.

To the evil consequences of delay, in commencing operations on an enemy's coast, was to be added the very alarming possibility that some reinforcement might arrive by one of the various

Digitized by Google

squadrons in motion when we left Europe, and therefore the General and myself were induced to consider that however difficult the task might be of advancing from Saldanha Bay, yet it was an object of very great moment to accomplish a safe and speedy landing for the troops, and the instant the decision was made the Diomede with the transports of the 38th Regiment, the Cavalry ships, and a proportion of artillery, under the orders of Brigadier-General Beresford sailed for Saldanha, preceded by Captain King in the Espoir having on board Captain Smyth of the Engineers (an officer well acquainted with the country) with a view of seizing the Postmaster and as many cattle as possible, antecedent to the arrival of the advanced division of the fleet.

Soon after the Diomede weighed the westerly wind began to abate, and on the 6th in the morning the Officers examining the beach reported that the surf had considerably subsided during the night, which indeed was so evident from the Diadem when she stood in shore that I requested Sir David Baird to permit General Ferguson and Colonel Brownrigg the Quartermaster-General to attend the officer on his second examination, that their feelings might, in some measure, be balanced against those of professional men, and to satisfy the Army that no measure in which its safety was so intimately connected should be determined on without due and proper deliberation.

In the meantime the Diadem, Leda and Encounter were placed in a situation to render the most effectual assistance, and the 71st and 72nd Regiments with two fieldpieces and a howitzer ready mounted in the boats of the Raisonable and Belliqueux, rendezvoused alongside the two

Digitized by Google

former ships, manifesting the most ardent desire for the signal from General Ferguson; at this moment the Protector joined the squadron, and Captain Rowley, who was well acquainted with the anchorage, volunteered his services to place her to the northward, so as to cross the fire of the Encounter and more effectually cover the landing of the troops.

Captain Downman at the same time went in shore with a light transport brig drawing only six feet, to run her on the beach as a breakwater if it would in any degree facilitate the debarkation of the troops.

At half past twelve the Encounter conveyed by signal General Ferguson's opinion that a landing might be effected, and the joy that was manifest in the countenance of every officer heightened the characteristic ardour of the troops, and under an anxiety probably to be first on shore induced them to urge the boats to extend their line of beach further than was prudent, and occasioned the loss of one boat with a party of the 93rd Regiment.

I report this event to their Lordships with the most unfeigned regret, and it is doubly painful to me, because from all the efforts of an enemy posted on an advantageous height the army had only two men wounded in landing; this circumstance must fully prove how well the covering vessels were placed and how ably their guns were served, and I trust my country will acquit me of having applied every expedient that could be devised to prevent the occurrence of an accident which I so sincerely deplore.

The surf increased considerably towards the close of the evening, and about 8 o'clock the landing of any more troops was stopped, but

Digitized by Google

recommenced in the morning, when all the men and provisions which the General judged necessary to take were disembarked without a moment's loss of time.

Conceiving that a detachment of the squadron might be of service at the head of the Bay, I proceeded there with the Leda, Encounter and Protector, and a division of transports, and I understand from firing occasionally that evening over the bank towards the Salt Pan that the enemy was obliged to move from an eligible situation which he had before occupied.

On the following morning we discovered the British Army advancing with an unparalleled rapidity over a heavy country defended by a numerous train of well served artillery, and as I conceived a few fresh troops might be applied to advantage I desired Captain Downman to land with the Marines of the squadron and two field-pieces to await the arrival of Sir David Baird at Riet Valley, who I very soon after had the pleasure of personally congratulating on the victory he had obtained over a General of such high military fame as General Janssen.

When the army was in motion to take up its position at Craig's Tower, and while I was proceeding up the Bay to anchor in the most convenient place for landing the battering train, a flag of truce was discovered coming towards the Diadem, by which I received the letter No. 1 from the Commandant of the Town and Castle, and the next day in conjunction with Sir David Baird the Capitulation No. 2 was accepted, and at six a Royal Salute fired from the squadron on His Majesty's Colours being once more hoisted on the Castle.

Although their Lordships will perceive by the

Digitized by Google

detailed account of our transactions here, and the accompanying plan[1] of the different dispositions which were made that no brilliant service fell to the lot of the squadron I have the honour to command, yet it is what I owe every officer and seaman to state that under the most laborious duty I ever experienced their zeal never abated. To Captain Rowley I feel personally indebted for his readiness on every occasion, and I have no doubt but the highest satisfaction will be expressed of the conduct of Captain Byng who commanded the Marine Battalion by an authority far exceeding mine; and I enclose for their Lordships information a copy of the report he made me on the conduct of the officers serving in that Battalion, to which exclusive of those belonging to the squadron are added Captain Hardinge of the Falsette and several other officers now on their passage to India to join their ships.

Captain Butterfield and Lieutenant Cochrane of the transports were on all occasions ready to forward the service; and we are particularly indebted to Captains Cameron, Christopher and Moring of the Honble. Company's ships Duchess of Gordon, Sir William Pulteney and Comet, who particularly exerted themselves in assisting the troops through the surf.

It is impossible for me to transmit any returns of the stores taken by this opportunity, or of the state of the Bato of 68 guns in Seamon's Bay;[2] but it is however so strongly reported that the enemy has not completely succeeded in his attempt to burn her that I have sent Captain Percy to take possession of her, and if possible to move her into safety, as the enemy has totally abandoned her.

Captain Downman of the Diadem will have the

[1] See plate opp. p. 198.

[2] Simons Bay.

Digitized by Google

honour of delivering this despatch to their Lordships, and from the intelligent manner in which I am satisfied he will explain every movement, and the causes by which I have been actuated, I trust he will require no further recommendation to their Lordships protection.

I cannot however conclude this letter without assuring their Lordships that I know no instance where a stronger degree of confidence and unanimity has been exemplified between the two professions than on the present occasion, and I humbly hope this circumstance, coupled with the meritorious and successful issue of Sir David Baird's Military dispositions will recommend this armament to His Majesty's most gracious favour and protection.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

(*Enclosure No.* 1)

Copy of translation.

Castle of Good Hope,
9th January 1806.

To the Officer Commanding
His Britannic Majesty's Navy
off the Cape of Good Hope.

Sir,—To prevent the consequences which must ensue from the Town and Castle being defended, I hereby propose to give you a cessation of arms for forty-eight hours to enter into negotiation.

I have etc.
H. C. C. VON PROPHALOW
Luit. Colonel, Commanding
the Town and Castle.

P.S. A similar letter being at the same time despatched to the Officer Commanding His Britannic Majesty's Army.

Digitized by Google

(*Enclosure No. 2*)

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION PROPOSED BY THE LIEUTENANT COLONEL HIERONIMUS CASIMIRIUS VON PROPHALOW, COMMANDANT OF THE TOWN, CASTLE AND CIRCUMJACENT FORTIFICATIONS OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

to

THE MAJOR GENERAL OF THE SERVICE OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY SIR DAVID BAIRD, K.C., COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS SAID MAJESTY'S FORCES, AND COMMODORE SIR HOME POPHAM, K.M., COMMANDING IN CHIEF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S NAVAL FORCES IN TABLE BAY

1st. The Capitulation being signed, the Cape Town, Castle and circumjacent fortifications shall be immediately surrendered to the troops of His Britannic Majesty, viz., the fortifications of the King's Blockhouse, Craig's Tower and all the batteries within that circuit and on the other side of Camp's Bay.

2nd. The Garrison shall at the surrender, march out with all the honours of war, and shall then lay down their arms and become Prisoners of War; but such officers as are natives of the Colony or married with natives, or in possession of sufficient landed property to become regularly and bona fide domiciliated, shall be at liberty to continue here so long as they behave themselves as becometh good subjects and citizens, or proceed to Great Britain with regular passports; and having previously passed their parole not to serve until regularly exchanged.

3rd. All officers, who according to the previous Article must go to Europe must be provided with passages at the expense of His Britannic Majesty and shall have leave to realise their property previous to their departure, and receive the same pay as they did in their own service till the day of their embarkation.

Digitized by Google

4th. The French subjects who, belonging to the stranded frigate L'Atalante, and the stranded privateer Le Napoleon were casually here and are comprehended in the present Capitulation, shall be treated on the same footing as the Garrison; but they must all be embarked for Europe as well as every other French subject in the Colony.

5th. The inhabitants of the town who have borne arms to be considered as belonging to the town, and may immediately return to their former occupations; but the distinction between the Burghers and other inhabitants is to remain the same, and subject to the same restrictions as under the Dutch Laws.

6th. All bona fide private property whether belonging to the Civil and Military Servants of the Government, to the Burghers and inhabitants, to Churches, Orphans, and other Public Institutions of that kind, shall remain free and untouched.

7th. Public property of every description whether consisting of treasure or naval or military stores, buildings, estates or merchandise belonging to the Batavian Republic or the Government of France, shall be faithfully delivered up, and proper inventories given of them as soon as possible.

8th. The Burghers and inhabitants shall preserve all the rights and privileges which they have enjoyed hitherto. Public worship as at present in use shall also be maintained without alteration.

9th. The paper money actually in circulation shall continue current as heretofore, until the pleasure of His Britannic Majesty is known.

10th. The lands and houses, the property of the Batavian Republic, which must be delivered up in consequence of the present Capitulation, shall remain as a security for that part of the paper money which is not already secured by mortgages upon the estates of individuals by its having been lent to them. This is however to be without prejudice to the free use to be made by the said lands and houses for public purposes.

Digitized by Google

11th. Prisoners of War comprehended in the present Capitulation shall not be pressed into His Britannic Majesty's Service, or engaged against their own free will and consent. With respect to other persons, they are provided for in Article the 5th of this Capitulation.

12th. The inhabitants of Cape Town shall be exempt from having troops quartered on them.

13th. Two ships having been sunk in Table Bay to the greater detriment of the roadstead, either after the Batavian Republic had sent out a flag of truce, or whilst it was in contemplation to do so, they are to be raised again and delivered over in an entire state of repair. This having been done without the sanction of the Commandant, the raising of the said ships shall be incumbent on those who sunk them.

14th. This Capitulation shall be signed at four o'clock this afternoon, when the Castle of the Cape Town, and all the adjacent forts previously mentioned shall be surrendered to His Britannic Majesty's troops.

Given under our hands and seals this tenth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six at Papendorp near Fort Knokke.

H. C. VON PROPHALOW.
D. BAIRD, M. Genl.
HOME POPHAM.

Executed in the presence of

JA TRUITES.
JOHN PALMER.

(*Enclosure No.* 3)

GENERAL ORDER BY MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD

Head Quarters, Cape Town.
11th January 1806.

Major General Sir David Baird returns the Army his sincere thanks for steady and soldier-

Digitized by Google

like conduct in the landing on the 6th, and for the very gallant behaviour in the action of the 8th instant. He has also greatly to commend the manner in which they supported the difficulties presented by the nature of the country to the advance of the troops on the latter day.

To Brigadier General Ferguson the Major General feels particularly indebted for the assistance he received from his very active and judicious conduct in effecting the landing and in the action of the 8th. To Lieutenant Colonel Baird for his judgment and ability whilst commanding the 1st Brigade in the absence of Brigadier General Beresford, and to Commanding Officers for the gallant and officer-like manner in which they led their respective Corps into action, his thanks are most fully due.

The benefit derived from the great exertions of Captain Byng and the officers and seamen of the Royal Navy and East Indiamen doing duty on shore merit the Major General's warmest acknowledgments and he feels that he cannot too highly praise the perseverance and determination with which they overcame the obstacles opposed by an extreme difficulty of country, to the conveyance of artillery.

The Major General Commanding in Chief cannot but express his regret that the absence of Brigadier General Beresford, on detached duty, deprived him of the services which his well established reputation entitled him to have expected from that officer.

W. R. TROTTER,
Major B^d^.
A.D. Adjt. General.

Digitized by Google

(*Enclosure No. 4*)

CAPTAIN G. BYNG TO POPHAM

His Majesty's Ship Belliqueux,
Table Bay.
11th January 1806.

Sir,—After the Public Orders issued by General Sir David Baird, I feel it unnecessary to trouble you with any further report on the conduct of the Marine Brigade, than to send you a copy of it. I never witnessed more zeal and determined spirit than was universally prevalent and I take the liberty of annexing the names of all the volunteer officers [Captain Harding, Lieutenants Pigot, Graham, Sutherland, Mingay, Carew and Pearce], and I return my thanks to them as well as those officers from the Indiamen so ably led by Captain Edmeads of the William Pitt, to whom I am particularly indebted for his exertions.

I have, [etc.]
GEO. BYNG.

Sir Home Popham, K.M., Commodore &c. &c.

POPHAM TO ADMIRALTY

Diadem, Table Bay,
13th January 1806.

Sir,—The surf was so high when the Flag of Truce came on board that it was with the greatest difficulty, although under a pressing necessity, that I could land. In the attempt however the boat was swamped, and Captain King of the Espoir narrowly escaped being drowned. On my reaching the Headquarters I found General Ferguson had, and I thought rather precipitately, signed preliminary Articles which are enclosed, No. 1, and

Digitized by Google

those preliminary Articles produced the Capitulation No. 2, which when presented to me by the Commandant on the following day at the appointed place of negotiation, I refused to sign without various modifications which I thought absolutely necessary. I explained to him that the Diadem was close to the Castle, and that we wanted nothing; that he was the supplicant and therefore he must have the patience to discuss every point, and which discussion ended in the modified capitulation enclosed in my despatch.

I hope their Lordships will see that His Majesty's power is less limited than it was when he formerly had possession of the Cape; that he is not interdicted from levying taxes; that the paper currency continues only at his pleasure, and that every Frenchman must quit the Colony. I also insisted upon their raising the ships sunk and delivering them over to me *in statu quo*— this I hope will be a precedent on future occasions, and I trust that although no opportunity has been given me in a military point to crave their Lordships approbation, they will be satisfied with my arrangements on this occasion under all the disadvantage already stated.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

William Marsden Esq.

(*Enclosure No.* 1)

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE BRIGADIER GENERAL FERGUSON IN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S ARMY, IN THE NAME OF MAJOR GENERAL SIR DAVID BAIRD

Digitized by Google

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE SAID ARMY ON THE ONE PART

and

THE COMMANDANT OF THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE, THE LIEUTENANT COLONEL IN THE SERVICE OF THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC HERONIMUS CASIMIRUS BARON VON PROPHALOW ON THE OTHER PART

Art. 1. From this moment all hostilities between His Britannic Majesty's troops and the Town and Castle of Good Hope are to cease until the final Capitulation shall be signed.

2. The time to be allowed unto the signing of the final Capitulation is to be accounted to begin this afternoon at three o'clock and to expire at three o'clock to-morrow afternoon.

3. The General Sir David Baird is immediately to occupy with a battalion of troops under his command the Forts Knock, Craig's Tower, and Centry Redoubt, in the state in which they are at present, the Garrison being at liberty then to return to the Castle.

4. The Garrison shall on the Capitulation being signed march out with all military honours. The officers shall retain their swords and be allowed on their parole either to continue in the Colony or to proceed elsewhere provided they do not serve against His Britannic Majesty previous to their being exchanged.

5. To the Garrison shall be accounted to belong all regular troops; such others as have borne arms being to be considered as inhabitants and freely allowed to return to that condition without any consequence.

6. Concerning the subsistence of the regular troops, the aforesaid Brigadier General consents to all that is usual in similar cases on the most liberal terms; the Prisoners of War shall if they choose it be transferred to Holland at the expense of His Britannic Majesty and such of them as choose to continue shall be allowed to.

Digitized by Google

7. All private property of every sort, whether belonging to the Civil, Naval or Military Servants, to the Burghers and Inhabitants, to Churches, Orphans, or Public Institutions, shall remain free and untouched.
8. The inhabitants of the town and environs comprised in the Capitulation shall preserve the prerogatives which they at present enjoy without alteration.
9. No person whatever comprised in this Capitulation shall be pressed into His Britannic Majesty's Service, or engaged against his own free will and consent.
10. The inhabitants of Cape Town shall be exempted from having troops quartered on them.
11. All other subjects regarding the town and its environs particularly respecting the paper money will be arranged with the Commanders in Chief.

Thus done in the Castle of Good Hope the 9th of January 1806.

R. C. FERGUSON, Brigadier General. H. C. B. VON PROPHALOW.

[Enclosure No. 2, 'Articles of Capitulation Proposed,' is similar to Enclosure No. 2 of the preceding letter, except that it contains a clause: 'Likewise all debtors to the Batavian Government shall be faithfully stated as well as all the claims of persons comprehended in the capitulation on the said Government until this day, both which debts and credits shall continue in full virtue,' which does not appear in the final version; and it does not contain the clause respecting the two sunk ships.]

POPHAM TO ADMIRALTY

Diadem, Table Bay.
January 13th, 1806.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit you copies of two letters which I yesterday received from Captain Donnelly who had been detached to procure intelligence, and in justice to an officer of

Digitized by Google

such merit, I cannot omit expressing my regret that I was deprived of the benefit of his exertions in the various duties which have been lately carried on at this place.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

(*Enclosure*)

His Majesty's Ship Narcissus,
Cape Mount Coast of Africa N.E. 5 Leagues.
30th October 1805.

Sir,—Proceeding on the Secret Service which you did me the honor of charging me with, I fell in with the Columbus Guinea ship yesterday, the master of which, Mr. Callow, informed me a Brig and Schooner French Privateers, were infesting this coast and had captured the Horatio Nelson, the stoutest ship coming out this season, after a severe action.

I immediately disguised the ship I command and edged in shore, in the hope of meeting them, directing the Columbus to proceed on her voyage down the coast. At 10 o'clock this morning we descryed the above-mentioned privateers and the Horatio Nelson in chase of the Columbus and as we perceived them coming fast up with her we stood towards them completely disguised and cut them off from her. In passing I directed her Master still to keep running away; when the privateers saw us separate they wore and stood towards us. When we approached within pistol shot they commenced a fire assisted by the Horatio Nelson which carried 20 9-pdrs. and 2 12-pdrs. We were obliged to fire upon them and did them much damage before the largest struck. When we got possession we immediately pursued the Horatio Nelson in preference to the schooner.

Digitized by Google

In the meantime the Columbus wore and stood towards the Horatio Nelson and exchanged broadsides as they passed, and she afterwards wore and kept firing at her until we arrived up with her when she struck. I have given her in possession of Mr. Callow, Master of the Columbus, who behaved very well on the occasion, in order to her being sent to Cape Massarida, where her late Master and part of the crew are; and I rejoice this nest of thieves, for they have plundered from all nations, is destroyed, particularly as we spoke many valuable vessels just coming on the coast. The schooner escaped with only a few men on board as her crew were sent on board the Horatio Nelson which was fitted for cruizing.

I have, [etc.]
ROSS DONNELLY.

Commodore Sir Home Popham,
&c. &c. &c.

P.S. The Brig we captured is named Le Prudent of 4 12-pdrs., 8 6-pdrs., and 70 men.

(*Enclosure*)

His Majesty's Ship Narcissus
2 Leagues off the Cape of Good Hope,
Christmas Day 1805.

Sir,—Yesterday afternoon while we were anxiously looking out of the ship I command for the squadron and convoy under your orders, we discovered a ship coming from the land about Table Bay in chase steering down before the wind; she approached within eight or nine miles and then hauled her wind from us. We instantly pursued and kept her in view until half past nine at night when the weather became so thick we lost sight of her.

Digitized by Google

Judging however from her fast sailing she was a ship of war, and would most likely push back to the Cape Town to give intelligence of our being on the coast, I plyed to windward all night to cut her off and at daylight had the pleasure of seeing her though still at a considerable distance to windward; at 9 o'clock we neared her fast and fearing she would make in for the shore I used every endeavour to prevent it, but without effect as she was still to windward of us, and after various manœuvres to escape close to the surf along shore and both keeping up a partial fire, we compelled her to run aground. Soon after we observed her three masts and bowsprits go by the board and her boats went adrift.

In such a distressed situation with a heavy swell and surf setting on the beach we forbore firing at her, although she vauntingly displayed the colours which (considering her force) she deprived herself the power of protecting, and I very much fear the greatest part of the crew will be lost.

Immediately after this event we captured a Dutch sloop bound with Naval Stores from the Cape Town to a line-of-battle ship laying at Simons Bay. The people on board informed us the vessel we ran ashore was a French ship of two and thirty Thirty-two P^rs. (short guns) and 250 men and had just sailed from Table Bay, that she had on board the ordnance &c. of L'Atalante French frigate lately lost there, and was bound with them to the Mauritius where ordnance stores were wanted to fit other ships.

A sort time ago this ship captured a South Sea Whaler, and an East Indiaman; I imagine an extra ship; she was excessively well equipped, but we could not learn her name, however from

Digitized by Google

circumstances and her fast sailing we supposed her to have been La Bellone, which has done a great deal of mischief in these seas.

It gives me much pleasure to inform you that Sir David Baird's and your wishes to obtain the latest intelligence from the Cape are fulfilled, by the information we got by the Dutch prisoners taken on the sloop which confirms the former intelligence received and which I have the honor to send you herewith.

As we were in great want of fuel we took the stores, &c., out of the sloop and cut her up for firewood.

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing how much I feel indebted to Mr. Thomson the 1st Lieutenant, and the rest of the officers and ships company, who on this as well as upon former occasions conducted themselves with an alacrity and steadiness which I am persuaded would have done honor to their country, had a more serious affair given them an opportunity of being tried.

I am, [etc.]
ROSS DONNELLY.

To Commodore Sir Home Popham,
&c. &c. &c.

POPHAM TO ADMIRALTY

Diadem, Table Bay,
January 13th, 1806.

Sir,—In the extreme haste and sudden manner in which it was determined yesterday evening to send off this dispatch it has been impossible for me to make a variety of communications respecting the interior arrangement of the squadron which it would have been my wish to do. I therefore hope you will offer this as an excuse to their Lordships on all points in which I have been deficient. It

Digitized by Google

is necessary in this letter however to state that in consequence of the probable want of flour, I have dispatched the Leda with a letter to the Governor of St. Helena to bring up some, as that was an object paramount to all other considerations. I shall also send a transport to Rio de Janeiro to procure rice and flour to put it beyond the risk of wanting any.

I now humbly submit to their Lordships the propriety of dispatching immediately one or two men of war with a proportion of that article from England without loss of time to be followed up by a small fast sailing storeship with biscuit and other provisions, as a great and competent store in the first instance will not only shew the Colony our independence, but tend to lower the price of bread to the poor, and consequently make the Government more popular.

I have also to represent to their Lordships that we are greatly in want of every specie of naval stores except pitch and tar.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

Diadem, Table Bay.
January 14th, 1806.

Sir,—On the 26th of November I had the honour to inform you that I was about to quit the Bay of St. Salvador with the squadron of Men of War and Fleet of Transports under my command destined for the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. On our first leaving the Bay of All Saints we had a heavy gale from the N.E. in which some of the transports split their sails and received other trifling damages, but the wind continuing fresh and fair we did not suffer much delay from these circumstances.

Digitized by Google

The first favourable opportunity of light winds I had all the Commanders of the Indiamen and Masters of the Transports on board and furnished each of them with a plan of Table Bay on a large scale, similar to the one I have the honour to enclose for Their Lordships information, with some divisional and rendezvous arrangements conformable to the plans; and every person was made so perfect a master of the subject before he quitted the Diadem that it was almost impossible any mistake could arise.

The weather till our making the land was in general remarkably fine, and by the precaution of making a great number of windsails for the Transports of which they had not a supply, and enforcing a variety of regulations for their health, the Army reached Table Bay with only thirty-six men in the Hospital Ship; and a few days before we made the land, on a general inspection of the corps, there appeared to be of every description of casualty or disorder in the first brigade only twenty men mustered by General Beresford on the sick lists, and out of these only three or four that could not land, and in the second brigade commanded by General Ferguson there was one or two less; therefore Their Lordships will see that in near six thousand troops there were forty men only unable to land. The squadron I have the honour to command was if possible more healthy, and our avoiding the rains by going so far to the westward is one of the causes proposed by the medical men for our being so healthy.

On the 4th we anchored off Robben Island with the whole Fleet and prepared weighing for our operations on the ensuing day.

I have the honour to be, [etc.]

HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

Diadem, Table Bay,
28th January 1806.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that a Prize of the Marengo's arrived yesterday evening in the Bay, and was taken possession of, and I detained the Sea Horse a few hours for the purpose of trying to obtain information of the route and probable course of Admiral Linois and his division.

The result of three Examinations and the coincidence with them of some private Letters, which I have opened induces me to think that their Lordships may depend on the following precise account :—

That Admiral Linois sailed from here with the Marengo and Belle Poule early in November, that he ran down the coast of Caffraria, made Cape Negro and proceeded to the southern coast of Africa, at Loango he took the Resource of Liverpool which is arrived here, and a Brig ; the Brig he made a Tender of, and is proceeding to the Northward on the Coast to commit as many depredations as possible; from thence he goes to St. Thomas's to water and then returns here, where he expects the Semilante, unless she joins him at some other Rendezvous. The Marengo has 86 guns mounted and 800 men and it does not appear that she is unhealthy. The Serang a most intelligent native of the Isle of France and from whom we had this information says that two sail of the line are also expected from France under Admiral Mangeaux, and that as the Governor of the Isle of France had quarrelled with Linois this was to be his station.

We are now very busy in getting ready the Transports to sail, in equipping the Belliqueux's Convoy and fishing her lower yards, but this Intelligence has induced me to proceed to sea

Digitized by Google

to-morrow morning with the Diadem, Diomede, and Narcissus, and I expect I shall soon be joined by the Raisonable as I have sent her orders to return from Muscle Bay.

I think there is a greater probability of my succeeding in the object of destroying their Squadron by being at sea, than by remaining here, for although he might be more suddenly surprized by our remaining at anchor under Green Point, yet if the Wind came in from the westward, which it has frequently done since we have been here, there would be no chance of success, for it would be impossible we could get under weigh and he might by coming under those circumstances do some damages to Merchant Ships which it would be impossible to prevent, as none of them can lie in the head of the Bay on account of the number of lost anchors.

When I think the Belliqueux can be ready I shall return to the Bay and proceed with his convoy to the eastward of the Cape, in which disposition I hope to receive their Lordships' approbation.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

Diadem, Table Bay.
28th January 1806.

Sir,—However fortunate I may consider myself by the result of the Expedition which their Lordships did me the honor to place under my command, yet I cannot presume to imagine that I may be thought competent to remain any length of time on a station of such importance as that of the Cape of Good Hope.

On this consideration therefore I request that you will do me the honor of humbly soliciting

Digitized by Google

their Lordships for my permission to return to England, whenever they shall deem it expedient to supersede me in the command of the squadron at this place.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

His Majesty's Ship Diadem,
Table Bay.
21st February 1806.

I had the Honor to acquaint you for the Information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty in my Letter of the 28th ult°, that I intended in consequence of the Information which that Letter contained to proceed to sea for a few days, while the Belliqueux was refitting. I did proceed to sea, and returned to join the East India Convoy which sailed on the 9th instant, consisting of the Ships named in the Margin,[1] including the three Transports which Sir David Baird requested I would allow to be sent to Madras to load with grain for the use of the Colony.

I remained off the Cape 'till the 15th of February, when I returned to Table Bay for the purpose of hurrying the Cartel ships which are to take the Prisoners to Holland, under General Janssens Capitulation with General Beresford.

These ships will I hope be ready by the 23rd to embark the Prisoners, and when they are complete if we receive no new Intelligence, I shall again go off the Cape to cruize, as the time of Admiral Linois probable arrival appears by the private letters which were intercepted to be about the 8th March.

Their Lordships must be aware of the variety

[1] Belliqueux and 15 transports. In company H.M. ships Diadem, Raisonable, Diomede and Narcissus:

Digitized by Google

of circumstances which may arise to prevent the return of Linois to this place, and how difficult it is to say where is the best situation to cruise for him; many opinions are, I know, that the Anchorage under Robben Island is the most certain, and although I very much decline to yield to that, yet there is a possibility that he has had the precaution of desiring that a certain signal may be made as long as the Cape is in possession of the Dutch, either to any Ship having the appearance of a Man of War, or in answer to such Interrogatory as he may make by preconcert as soon as he sees the Flag Staff at the Cape.

Viewing this not only as a possible but a very probable case, the Station off the Cape is the most preferable, and which I shall on that account immediately resume, returning occasionally for a few hours, to arrange any matters that need my presence.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

Diadem, Table Bay.
22nd February 1806.

Sir,—The Rollo,[1] English Brig Letter of Marque which was taken by the Marengo in company with the Belle Poule in Cabende Bay on the Coast of Africa, came into this Anchorage yesterday, and by a Boat's Crew dressed in French [2] the Officer Commanding the Prize had not time to destroy his despatches, by which means two letters from Admiral Linois to General Janssens the former Governor at the Cape, and to the Minister of Marine at Paris, fell into my hands,

[1] Of Liverpool.

[2] *Sic.* Apparently he means she was boarded by one of his boats with the men disguised as Frenchmen.

Digitized by Google

and I have the honor to transmit you for the Information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty translates of each; it appears evident that he never intends to go again to the Isle of France, as the more urgent his necessities may be in point of provisions, the less likely he is to be relieved at that place.

This morning a Danish Ship from Copenhagen bound to Batavia came into Table Bay, and the Master of her said he had been boarded the evening before, by the Piedmonties French Frigate, which was bound to the Isle of France; she had fifteen ports on the main deck, and was apparently a very large ship. I shall send this intelligence with the copy of the letter alluded to, to Sir Edward Pellew by the Whitby Transport, which will sail in a day or two for Madras.

The Letters from Admiral Linois are rather too equivocal to say exactly when he will arrive, but he may be expected from the beginning to the end of March, and as the Northumberland and Euphrates Indiamen are expected the beginning of the ensuing month, I shall proceed immediately off the Cape with my whole Squadron to prevent if possible his falling in with such valuable ships as they will be to him, as well in point of the intelligence they would give him as the great supply of provisions and stores of which he stands so essentially in need of.

Under all the circumstances of the intelligence which I have received, I hope their Lordships will not consider that I act improperly in detaining the Raisonable a little longer here, especially as I learn by the return of the Leda that there are only two Company's Ships arrived at St. Helena.

I have, [etc.]

HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

(*Enclosure No. 1*)

Marengo at Anchor Isle du Prince.
1st Nivose 14 Year
(alias 22nd December 1805).

The Rear-Admiral Linois to His Excellency the Governor in Chief at the Cape of Good Hope.

Governor,—I dispatch for the Cape the Brig Rollo, which I have deemed useless to retain with me during the remainder of my cruize. I have intimated to the Captain (the Ensigne de Vaisseau Vermat) that you would inform him of his ultimate destination and I have the honor to request that you will promise so to do when necessary. My intention is to let him remain ignorant that I intend returning to the Cape where I hope to find him. It is I believe important to keep secret the places I may touch at.

The events which of late have almost constantly thwarted me have again deceived the hope which I entertained of procuring supplies of provisions from the captures which I might have made on the Coast of Angola, and my cruize might have succeeded according to my most sanguine wishes without the circumstance of two French Privateers, who have preceded me and carried away seven English vessels. I have however reduced the ration of biscuit as much as possible and I am going to cruize until the beginning of March, when I shall again be forced by necessity to reclaim your good offices towards us.

I have thought it necessary to anticipate the probable time of my arrival at the Cape, and requesting you to arrange (without affording opportunities for the cause transpiring) measures for the preparation of Biscuit, Flour, Fuel, Cordage and Tar ; which we indispensably want.

But do not you imagine, General, that in

Digitized by Google

making these purchases before-hand they might be obtained more reasonably and conjectures might be made that these provisions were intended for the re-armament of the Bato? If you judge it absolutely necessary to confer on this subject with Mr. Gillande, use your own discretion but if you can compass it alone it might perhaps be preferable. As to the rest, I well know, General, your particular kindness for me, as well as your devotion to the success of the French Division, and I repose with confidence in your good endeavours on this occasion.

If the Rollo could be of any service to you, in being sent to the Coast, in transporting people or in fetching provisions necessary for your Government, I beg you will avail yourself of her. I only wish to meet her at the Cape in March. Yet I should think, General, that the Rollo might be employed, and the prize ship Resource, if not yet sold, to carry to Simon's Bay either to the Bato or to the Stores the provisions and stores wanted by the Division, for I think it would be imprudent to expose for any length of time at the anchorage before the Cape our Ships, in procuring their own provisions and water.

I am concerned that I did not beg of Mr. Gillande not to sell the water casks of the Resource which might have turned out so useful; if it is not too late request of him I beg of you to reserve them for the French men of war.

Receive, General, the expression of my particular attachment to you, and those of the great consideration with which

I have the honor to be,
Governor,
Your very devoted Servant,
LINOIS.

Digitized by Google

P.S. I have the honor to present to the Ladies Janssens the hommage of my respects. I embrace the amiable William.

(*Enclosure No. 2*)

On board the Ship Marengo
at anchor before Isle du Prince
the 1st Nivose 14th Year.

The Contre Admiral Linois to His Excellency the Minister of Marine and of the Colonies of Paris.

Sir,—I beg of you to recollect that I had the honor of advising your Excellency of my departure from the Cape on the 18th Brumaire with the Marengo and the Frigate the Belle Poule victualled and stored for six months (with the exception of flour and biscuit) of which I had only sufficient for three months; I also wanted cordage, having exhausted the slender resources of this species of provisions which the Colony afforded. I wished notwithstanding to consume my provisions at sea, in the hope of a happy meeting with some of the Enemy's Vessels which might furnish me with means. I could not depend on the Isle de France, since the Captain-General had so positively written me 'that the Colony could not possibly supply my wants, if I returned in November,' that is to say after a cruize of six months. It was yet too early to flatter myself with hopes of success from the cruize off St. Helena, which I had in view; so that I have proposed to run along the Coast of Angola, knowing that if I took possession of any Slave Ships, I should find abundance of biscuit, rice and vegetables which they are generally provided for six or twelve months for the maintenance of the Negros; I

Digitized by Google

also reckoned upon finding water casks to replace those which had become useless from age, and in fine cordage which has become so essential. I proposed then to proceed on a cruize off St. Helena.

You will observe, Sir, that my ' Combinaisons ' helped to furnish me with means to keep the sea as long as I possibly could, to supply myself with provisions at the expense of the Enemy, and to dispense with my appearance at the Isle of France. Consequently I steered for Cape Negro, which I made in standing northwards. The coast of Africa is never out of sight. I have visited the anchoring grounds where I might meet Ships. On the 13th Frimaire I captured in the roads of Cabende the English Brig Rollo of 196 Tons mounting six guns; he had only procured (' traité ') 7 blacks and had the remainder of a cargo. The possibility that he might become useful to me in these seas, by his small draught of water, has induced me to keep him and I have confided the command of her to Ensigne de Vaisseau Vermat of the Belle Poule. The following day we took the Ship the Resource at an anchor at Loango, of 350 Tons and mounting 18 guns having on board 53 blacks and the remains of a cargo. I gave the command of her to L'Ensigne de Vaisseau L'Onde, and ordered her to the Cape, after having supplied to the Ship and the Frigate her excess of biscuit and vegetables, which only produced seven days' bread for our Ship's Company.

I have made 60 Prisoners English or Foreigners in these two Vessels. Some of the latter have entered with us.

I learned from these Prisoners that two Privateers from Bordeaux had past by this

Digitized by Google

coast 15 days before us and had captured seven of the Enemy's Vessels; if I had 'devanced' them my speculations of Provisions of every kind would have been realised.

To conclude, if this cruize in these latitudes have not been attended with the success which I might have expected, it will not be without some good effect, for I have availed myself of this circumstance, without desisting from my pursuit, to ascertain positions unknown till this day, of an extent of Coast of 400 leagues from Cape Frio to Cape Lopez Gonsalvo, so defective not only on our map of 'Collin,' but upon English maps pretty recent; fortunate in the sight of the Stars during my stay in these latitudes which has increased the Astronomical Observations and have added to the dependance we place in our marine time-pieces. I trust to submit to you, at some future period our labours, which will possess that precision which may be expected from practical observations, with the assistance of good Instruments.

My sight which has become weak to a painful degree, no longer permits me to take observations, and my individual merit on this occasion is limited to the task of compiling the 'Elements' and observations without number of the Officers of the Division for composing my Chart.

I had not with me any Plans of this Coast upon which I could depend, and I have often found great service during the cruize in the Maritime Geographical Dictionary of M. de Grand Pré who acknowledges (and which I have found by my remarks) to be deficient in exactness, especially in this part of Africa.

In my passage to Loango and Mayombra I was visited by the natives who testified a desire

Digitized by Google

of seeing renewed a connexion with the French, whose goods they prefer to those of the English : several among them rendered themselves very intelligible in our language.

As we are yet to remain a long time at sea, I shall want to water ; the surest and most contiguous place was the Isle du Prince where I have put in.

I am very happy in the reception we have met from the Governor and Inhabitants.

This small Colony maintains its Inhabitants with its 'Cattle and Marrive,' these last 4 or 5 years, they have cultivated with success Coffee, of a very superior quality, and 'Canelle' (Cinnamon), Sugar Canes grow well, but they are ignorant of the manner of treating them, or else cannot afford the process of a Sugar House.

The Harbour formed by Nature would receive 50 ships or Frigates which would be in safety there.

This small spot belonging to a great Nation, would command the active commerce of the Gold Coast and the coasts of Guinea and Angola, and could protect or annoy them. The lands in the neighbourhood of the Port are not cultivated. They are covered with impenetrable forests to the shore, which contributes no doubt to the malignant influence of the climate. I have only procured in this Island water and some refreshments. I did not get any Wood ; they wanted me to pay 9 Piastres the chord, and I could have had it for nothing if I had determined upon sending my people to cut it ; but I did not wish for such an advantage, to expose our Seamen to the fatigues they would have experienced in this work and to the sickness which might have resulted from it.

Since the War the English seldom come here.

Digitized by Google

I only found on the Anchoring Ground six small Vessels, Portuguese Brigs or Schooners.

Monsieur De Castro who has just been relieved from the Government of L'Isle du Prince has undertaken to convey my Letter to you. There is a report in the Colony that there are 5 French ships of war on the Coast of Guinea. At present there is but one English Vessel at Gabon, but there are several on the Gold Coast. In spite of our exertions to accelerate our watering, it has occupied me 6 days, having forbidden that any person should be on shore after sun set or before sun rise; these measures appeared to me necessary for the preservation of our Crews in health, being aware of the noxious effects of the heavy dews in these unhealthy Climates.

I am returning to sea with the regret of being deficient in the means (in point of bread and cordage) of prolonging my 'Campagne' to the extent I could have wished.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,
Sir,
Your very humble & very obed^{t} Servant,
LINOIS.

P.S. To rid myself of the two English Captains and three Officers belonging to the two last prizes, I have left them at the Isle du Prince, with their Engagement upon Parole, of whom I have the honor to hand you the duplicates. I have kept the Seamen.

POPHAM TO ADMIRALTY

Diadem, Table Bay.
4th March 1806.

Sir,—I beg you will do me the Honor to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that

Digitized by Google

the Diadem, Leda and Diomede anchored here yesterday evening, and at 9 this morning a Ship was discovered coming from the southward under a press of sail, and soon after two more, one of which the Station on the Lion's Rump reported to be of the Line, and an Enemy's ship; as the Marengo and Belle Poule were hourly expected, I thought it possible it might be them, and I directed the Diomede and Leda to slip, and keep on the edge of the South Easter, which had partially set in on the east side of the Bay.

At 11 the headmost ship hoisted French Colours and stood towards the Diadem, and by this time I was satisfied from the judicious manœuvres of the ships in the offing that they could be no other but the Raisonable and Narcissus.

At 12 the French Frigate passed within hail of the Diadem, when we changed our Colours from Dutch to English and directed her to strike, which she very properly did immediately, and I sent the Honorable Captain Percy who was serving with me as a Volunteer, to take possession of her; she proved to be La Volontaire, the forerunner of Admiral Willaumez's Squadron. She is nearly eleven hundred tons, and mounts 46 guns, with a Complement of three hundred and sixty men on board.

I congratulate their Lordships that by this capture, detachments of the Queen's and 54th Regiments, consisting of 217 men who were taken in two Transports in the Bay of Biscay, are restored to His Majesty's Service.

I am, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

Diadem, Table Bay.
7th March 1806.

Sir,—I confined the subject of the letter, which I had the honor of addressing you on the 4th instant, to the capture of the Volontaire; but as I have courted a great deal of conversation with the Officers of that Ship, under various pretences, tending however entirely to procure intelligence of the strength and probable destination of the Fleet that sailed from Brest; I think it highly expedient to dispatch an Officer with the result, for the information of My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; and a copy also to Sir Edward Pellew for his Government in India.

It appears that on the 14th of December last a Fleet escaped from Brest, consisting of the following Ships; which were previously formed in two divisions, and under separate Admirals; though I cannot yet learn from the French whether they are totally independent of each other, or not; but the English Prisoners imagine that they were to be ultimately connected in some enterprize.

The two divisions were in the act of parting company when the Sirius fell in with them, and therefore I conclude their Lordships will have been very early apprised of the departure of this force from Europe.

One Division consisted of

L'Impérial	120 guns	Admiral Leissegues
Alexandre	80	
Diomède	74	
Jupiter	74	
Brave	74	
Cornète	44	
Félicité	36	
Diligent	22	(Corvette)

Digitized by Google

The other Division consisted of

Le Foudroyant	84 guns	Adm[l] Willaumez
Le Vétéran	74	
L'Impéteaux	74	
Le Cassard	74	
Le Patriote	74	
L'Eole	74	
La Volontaire	46	taken by the Diadem
La Valeureuse	36	

With respect to the first mentioned Division, it is impossible for me at present to afford their Lordships any satisfactory account of its destination; either from my own conversation with the Prisoners, or that of the very intelligent Officers under my Command, who have particularly exerted themselves on this occasion. When I suggest the idea of the Brazils, I am always answered 'very possible, but we know nothing of that Squadron.' Admiral Willaumez has a carte blanche.

With respect to the second named Squadron, whose forerunner, La Volontaire, we have had the good fortune to capture; it appears that the Ships composing it are of the largest Class; that they are completely manned, and have on board fifteen hundred Marine Artillery, with two and three field pieces in each ship. This Marine Artillery however is not independant of their Complement; tho' that may be in some degree increased to enable them to land when any occasion shall offer; for I understand the Foudroyant, which ship mounts 92 guns, has more than 800 men on board, the others 750.

Jérôme Bonaparte is Captain of the Veteran; with, it is said, a higher Commission in his possession; but whether it is to be opened on

Digitized by Google

a given day, at a fixed place, or on the successful issue of his operations, I cannot presume to determine.

La Volontaire was ordered to receive on board all the English troops which had been taken in the Transports, and land them at Teneriffe; but she was prevented doing so, by falling in with an English Cruizer near the Island. She then proceeded to 24° North, and lay to three days; crossed the Line in 8° West of Paris, where she also lay to some time; and not finding the Squadron, she came directly to the Cape.

It was supposed by some English Officers on board, that if it had not been for the sickness among their Troops, she would have remained at sea some days longer; but I cannot obtain any satisfactory reason for such a presumption, as Captain Brettel, who commanded La Volontaire, appeared, and naturally so, very anxious to get rid of such a number of Prisoners, who rendered his ship almost useless as a cruizer; indeed, he told me in the first half hour's communication that, as soon as he had landed his Prisoners, and procured some refreshments, it was his intention to proceed to sea in search of his Admiral.

In deploring his situation the second day after he came on board, he said to Captain King that he feared part of his Squadron must be sacrificed, for that he thought they would come in here two at a time to water and refresh; and that the Veteran would be one of the first.

Having now presented for their Lordships a precis of the Intelligence which I have been able to obtain; and the movement and probable destination of these Squadrons; I request you to assure them that I shall do all in my power to make the small but zealous Squadron I have the honor

Digitized by Google

to command equally efficient in its concert with the Army for the defence of this Colony ; as it was by its co-operation in obtaining possession of it.

For this purpose the Raisonable, Diadem and Diomede will be moored as close in shore as possible, between the Chavonne and Amsterdam Batteries, with the Narcissus and Leda a little to the eastward of the southermost ship ; their Lordships will observe that this is a position completely defensive, and very much at variance with the one I took up when I only expected the arrival of Admiral Linois with his Squadron.

In contemplating on the preceding statement of facts, their Lordships will I hope be satisfied that I have fair and rational grounds for expecting Admiral Willaumez here, with six sail of the line and two frigates ; that from the observations and conclusions of the English Officers, who were prisoners in the Volontaire, it is a possible case that for some ulterior operations Admiral Leissègues may join the first Division in this Bay ; and I have in transmitting the intercepted correspondence of Admiral Linois to the Minister of Marine at Paris, and to General Janssens, the late Governor of the Cape, furnished their Lordships with the most unequivocal proofs of that Admiral's intention to revisit this Colony in the course of the present month ; therefore taking together the force which is positively expected ; that which most probably will come ; and that whose arrival is but a possible case, it will amount to twelve sail of the line, four frigates and a Corvette.

While we are in the expectation of a Force so superior, I trust their Lordships will approve of my remaining here with the Squadron as long as the Season will allow me to do so ; but never losing sight of the expediency of being ready to go to sea

Digitized by Google

at a moment's warning, in case we should receive any certain intelligence that the Enemy has been dispersed by a gale of wind. In short, at a juncture so peculiar as the present, all the means which I can command shall be held ready to apply in such a manner as may be deemed the most advantageous for the public service.

I hope their Lordships will not consider that the foregoing observations and conclusions result from any despondency on my part; the situation that I am placed in is certainly critical, and it is I conceive but a proper line of conduct to state every circumstance, in its true bearings, for their Lordships' consideration and judgment.

By looking however to a happy concurrence of fortuitous events, these Squadrons, which when connected put on a most formidable shape, may by such contingencies as fleets are ever liable to, particularly in these tempestuous seas, be so reduced and so divided in the practical application of their Force, as to make their arrival in that form more to be wished, than it could ever be dreaded in any shape, under the position which we shall immediately occupy between the Batteries.

After what I have already communicated, I trust their Lordships will justify my conduct in the detention of the Raisonable; but I shall send La Volontaire to St. Helena with as many men as I can muster, without distressing the Squadron, leaving directions with the Governor to put the Ships under her Convoy, if by a small levy on each, with a detachment of King's troops, which are now there in their way from India, he can make the frigate sufficiently efficient and respectable to take charge of a Convoy.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

Diadem, Table Bay.
15th March 1806.

Sir,—I beg you will do me the honour of stating to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Captain Arbuthnot who commands the Cavalry Picquet at Saldanha Bay, has this day reported the arrival of a Whaler in that Bay, who on the 25th February, in the Lat. 33° 50′ South, and Longitude 50′ East of Greenwich, fell in with eight sail of ships steering about E.S.E. He thought they were English East India Ships, but the weather was very hazy and he was not long in sight of them.

Admiral Willaumez Squadron consists only of 7 sail, but they may have taken a prize, or this may be a small Convoy of Indiamen, of which however their Lordships will be able to judge pretty accurately, by reference to the departure of any Convoy from Europe whose date will coincide with the date and position of the present eight sail of ships.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

Diadem, Table Bay.
20th March 1806.

One of the officers of the Volontaire, an Ensigne de Vaisseau, is a German [1] whom I had formerly met in Germany, and as he brought this circumstance to my recollection manifesting at the same time a degree of discontent at the treatment he had experienced in the French Marine, I made a plea of form in the Vice-Admiralty Court for the condemnation of the Frigate to detain him on board the Squadron while I was making arrange-

[1] Named Steetz.

Digitized by Google

ments for the Prisoners who were to be sent to Europe.

I have lost no opportunity in questioning him from the most distant to the most direct terms, according to the temper he appeared at the moment, and am inclined to think he is very positive that Admiral Willaumez' Squadron is not bound to the East Indies, tho' he dictates not to know its ultimate destination, he thinks the two Squadrons are to join, but without any positive reason for giving such an opinion; and his own conjectures are that when they quit the bank of Lagullas where he supposes they are now cruizing, that they will go to the Brazils, if they hear we are in possession of the Cape, and from thence proceed to the West Indies.

If this Officer should be right in his first conjecture, I do not think the second an improbable one, and under that consideration I shall despatch a vessel to Admiral Cochrane, with copies of all the letters I have written to their Lordships on the subject of the Squadrons which sailed from Brest.

The advantage of early information of the enemy's motions must be so evident under almost any circumstance that I trust I shall be borne out in this decision by the facts which are presented to their Lordships, and if ever they should view my conduct differently, that [they] will attribute this measure as entirely originating from an anxiety to forward the Public Service.

The Vessel I have fixed on to go to Barbadoes is the Jack, a small Transport Brig, whose Master is an active intelligent man.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

Diadem, Table Bay.
21st March 1806.

Sir,—After concluding my Letter yesterday afternoon, a Brig under Hamburgh Colours arrived from Tonningen. She had been boarded by Admiral Willaumez' Squadron consisting of seven sail, on the 25th ult. in Lat. 33° 23′, Longitude 6° 10′ East, on the same evening it blew very hard from the S.S.E., and the following day he saw the Squadron lying to.

When this Brig was boarded by the Leda to the southward of Green Point, the Master asked where the Leda came from; he was answered from St. Helena, and to cruise off the Cape; on which the Master of the Brig replied 'Get off as fast as you can, or the French Fleet will take you'; and he then gave him the information contained in the preceding paragraph.

On the Brig's anchoring here, I examined the Master very closely, to find out whether he had any reason to suspect that the Squadron was coming here, from what occurred whilst he was on board the French man of war; he declares not; that he told them he was bound here for a market, and shewed them all his papers, but no circumstance whatever arose while he was on board the French ship to induce him to suppose that it was suspected we were in possession of the Cape; and he most positively declares he had not the smallest idea of it. Now from the position in which he left the French Fleet, there is little probability of their having obtained any information from this place, because there has been an embargo on, ever since our arrival 'till within these few days, and it was then only taken off for those bound to the northward.

If therefore they are really bound here, their

Digitized by Google

arrival must be determined in the course of ten days, when even with the greatest economy they cannot have above five weeks water on board; and no man of prudence would risk a Squadron of such consequence to an alternative of more hazardous speculation than such a period of time would expose it to.

They sailed the 14th December with seven months provisions at full allowance, and directly after their departure from Brest an Order was given to make their water last five months; and if their daily consumption should be so proportioned as to enable them to adhere to the letter of such an instruction, they may probably extend their cruise a little longer, and increase the limit of their expected arrival here; but if antecedent to the period of their intended visit to this place (if such an intention really exists), they should hear that we are in possession of the Cape, then it appears to me that they must decide instantly on one of the only two arrangements that appear most natural for them to adopt.

First: If according to the supposition of the German Officer we have detained, they should have objects of consequence to follow in the West Indies in co-operation with Admiral Leissègues, they will then decide to go to Rio de Janeiro to complete their water and provisions, and then proceed to their ultimate destination; in which case the precaution I have taken to give Admiral Cochrane information will I hope be well timed.

If on the other hand they should have no view towards the West Indies, then they must proceed to the Isle of France; and as the season is now setting in for our Cruizers to block up Port Louis, I think it very possible that the sudden arrival of such a force might endanger the capture

Digitized by Google

of whatever squadron may happen to be there; and on that account I have decided to dispatch the Rollo Brig with a copy of all my correspondence on this subject and I hope she will be ready to proceed in forty-eight hours.

I have already informed their Lordships that I could only procure a few Lascars to man her; as however the object in conveying this intelligence to our cruisers off the Isle of France may be of the last moment, if my premises upon the whole of this subject are founded on reasonable grounds, I shall order a few Europeans to be discharged from each of the ships under my command, however ill they can spare them, to make her competent to the service.

Another difficulty which occurred in finding an officer to command her, for the spur of the moment, has been removed by the voluntary offer of service of Mr. Brown the Master Attendant, whose zeal on this occasion will I hope recommend him to their Lordships notice.

I have already acquainted their Lordships that this information has been sent in duplicate to Sir Edward Pellew in India, but while any surmises exist of a possibility that Admiral Willaumez may go to the Mauritius, I considered it an essential part of my duty to use every exertion in conveying this intelligence to the Isle of France, which their Lordships will see by the annexed copy of my Order to Mr. Brown that he is directed to remain forty-eight hours, and then return to False Bay.

I have, [etc.]

HOME POPHAM.

Digitized by Google

His Majesty's Ship Diadem,
Table Bay.
9th April 1806.

Sir,—As the season is now very far advanced for lying in this Bay, and the weather particularly unsettled for the time of the year, I propose quitting it with the squadron immediately, more especially as from the length of time that has elapsed since we heard of Admiral Willaumez Fleet, it is very improbable, consistent with the situation he was then in, that he should come here at present.

To determine his position at this moment would be impossible, and it is almost equally difficult to decide on the best mode of applying the exertions of the squadron the ensuing two months to the greatest advantage.

The intelligence we received by La Volontaire and which has already been transmitted to you for their Lordships information appears materially to incline to the supposition that the West Indies is the destination of Admiral Willaumez Fleet, but General Anker the late Governor of Tranquebar, who is just arrived here on his passage to Europe, informed me in the course of conversation that a French squadron was expected at Mauritius, but that it was impossible for that Island to supply any flour to it, without looking to Rio de la Plata or the Coast of Brazil for a supply, on which consideration I think employing the squadron in cruising a short time off that coast, instead of remaining idle, will be a disposition fraught with some advantages, and which I hope will appear so evident to their Lordships as to induce them to approve of the measure.

As this letter is to be conveyed by a foreign ship, I shall not enter into any minute detail, but say it is my intention to proceed off Rio de la

Digitized by Google

Plata in the first instance, to send the Raisonable to her destination by the time fixed, the Diomede to Rio de Janeiro to procure rice for the Colony of which it is in the greatest want, and return immediately to False Bay with the other ships, unless I should hear that Admiral Linois is at St. Catherines[1] preparing to cruise for the outward bound East India trade in which case I shall endeavour to intercept him, if it does not infringe on the time of my return to the Cape to receive their Lordships commands in consequence of the despatches conveyed by the Espoir.

When I have the opportunity of a safe conveyance to write more freely to their Lordships, I hope the additional reasons I shall then give will be sufficient to satisfy their Lordships of the expediency of the measures which I am now about to adopt.

I have, [etc.]
HOME POPHAM.

ADMIRALTY TO POPHAM

Admiralty Office, 11th April 1806.

Sir,—I received on the 22nd February and immediately communicated to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 10th of October last, acquainting them with the removals and promotions of the officers therein mentioned, and of your having appointed Captain Hugh Downman from the Diomede to His Majesty's ship Diadem; and I have it in command from their Lordships to acquaint you, that on a consideration of the circumstances under which that appointment took place, they cannot but highly dis-

[1] An island off the coast of S. America in Lat. 27° 35′ S.

Digitized by Google

approve thereof, as well as of the other removes and promotions above alluded to, and therefore do not think it right to confirm them.

I have it also in command from their Lordships to signify their direction that you immediately resume the command of the Diadem and that you order the officers which have been removed in consequence of your having appointed a Captain to that ship, to return to the situation from whence they were respectively removed.

Their Lordships are pleased to direct that you continue to wear a distinguishing pendant until you receive further orders, or until an officer senior to yourself shall arrive at the Cape; and I have their further commands to acquaint you that several vessels laden with stores and provisions for the ships under your command will very shortly be sent from hence, and that their Lordships earnestly expect you will cause every possible attention to be paid to the economical expenditure of all the Public Stores and provisions with which you may be supplied.

It being their Lordships intention that Captain Downman shall continue to serve under you in the Diomede they have directed him to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope to resume the command of the said ship, and have, for that purpose, ordered him a passage in the Howe storeship.

I am, [etc.]

Commodore Sir Home Popham,
Cape of Good Hope.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE SALUTE IN THE NARROW SEAS

AND THE VIENNA CONFERENCE OF 1815

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IT has long been a commonplace among naval historians that the claim to the salute in the narrow seas, or 'right of the flag' as it is sometimes called, was abandoned by Great Britain after the battle of Trafalgar because the country then stood at such a height of sea power that it needed no longer to insist on any outward recognition of its superiority.

In his *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* Professor Webster has recently thrown a new light on the matter. He says (p. 171): 'The Admiralty had refused to allow the Congress of Vienna to deal with this question, but without employing armed force, which it shrank from using, it found itself powerless to enforce its old rights'; and he goes on to say that the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 agreed on a settlement on a basis of complete reciprocity, leaving the details for settlement in London. In another passage (p. 49) he says that 'In 1818 the Admiralty abandoned the old claim of salutes in the Narrow Seas, the symbol of a contested sovereignty which it was not now worth while to assert.' The value of the document printed below lies in the fact that the circumstances in which the old claim was abandoned are made clear, and it shows that the above views do not fully represent the facts.

The early history of this highly controversial matter is set forth fairly fully in the Memorandum by John Wilson Croker, First Secretary of the Admiralty, but it is strange that he does not mention that a dispute over the salute was the ostensible though not the real cause of the outbreak of the First Dutch War in 1652, and he makes no reference to the discussions in Parliament in

Digitized by Google

1802. Early in that year the Definitive Treaty of Peace with France and the Batavian Republic was the subject of much criticism in both Houses, and some of this was directed against the fact that the Treaty made no mention of the rights respecting the flag which had formed part of all the former Treaties with the Dutch.[1] In the Lords, Ellenborough (Lord Chief Justice) is reported to have said that 'with respect to the idle and paltry compliment of the Dutch striking their flag to us, he thought there was not much magnanimity in enforcing that from the weaker power which we did not require from the stronger,' while in the Commons, Hawkesbury, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said: 'But there was no point which appeared more completely to be mistaken than that which respected our flag. The fact was, that this country had for centuries claimed a sovereignty of the seas, and from this sovereignty, that other nations should lower their flags to us. No express stipulation had ever been introduced in our treaties with France and Spain to this purpose, and yet the right had always been acknowledged. The reason that the express stipulation was only with Holland was because there had once been a war between this country and Holland upon that very point, and therefore the right had been at the peace, and by subsequent treaties, expressly recognised with respect to Holland, and if this had not now been again mentioned, it was because, with Holland, as well as other countries, we chose to stand upon our ancient and long exercised right. We had ceded nothing in this respect. . . .'

From the documents now printed it becomes clear that the ancient claim was tacitly abandoned when the Sea Lords removed the old order to enforce it from the book of Naval Regulations, a step in which Barham, and it must be presumed the Cabinet, concurred. But it is also clear that this step was too enlightened for the public feeling of the age, and consequently the Government dared not openly renounce the old claim. Con-

[1] Westminster (1654), Breda (1667), Westminster (1674), Paris (1784).

Digitized by Google

sequently when the Conference at Vienna proceeded to discuss it, the Admiralty was ordered to put up a case against any discussion of the subject, with the result now disclosed. When the matter came up again in 1818 at Aix-la-Chapelle, Castlereagh evidently got it referred to the subsequent London Conference, but as no mention of it appears in the protocols of that Conference, which was almost exclusively concerned with the slave trade, it seems that the Government had been astute enough to shelve it again, and avoid any open repudiation of the old doctrine. When the Naval Regulations were revised in 1824 the articles relating to salutes as revised in 1806 reappeared with only verbal amendments, and subsequent regulations of salutes have been treated as minor matters to be settled between the various Foreign Offices. So far as I can discover no formal repudiation was ever made.

Sir Wm. Scott (Lord Stowell), whose remarks appear in the margin of the Memorandum, was at the time the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty.

The manuscript, a small quarto volume, has been much damaged by damp and several words are lost or partly illegible, but the original despatches are to be found elsewhere in the records, so that I have been forced to make conjectural restorations (in square brackets) in only a few places. Fortunately in no place is the meaning of the passage in doubt.

The marginal notes on Croker's Memorandum have been inserted as footnotes within square brackets; the less usual abbreviations have the following meanings:

Ad. Nav. Coll. The collection of transcripts from the Pepysian papers at Cambridge, now in the Admiralty Library.

L.L.S.S. Lords Letters to Secretary of State, now in P.R.O.

S.S.L. Secretary of State's Letters, now in P.R.O.

Rym. Foed. Rymer's Foedera.

The others are sufficiently obvious.

W. G. P.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE SALUTE IN THE NARROW SEAS

(P.R.O. Admiralty 7/667.)

Foreign Office,
14 January 1815.

Sir,—One of the subjects of discussion among the powers of Europe, which it is intended to settle at the Congress of Vienna is that of precedence of Sovereigns and their Officers.

Three of the articles in this arrangement apply to Salutes at Sea and are herewith enclosed.

His Majesty's plenipotentiary in giving his consent to the arrangement in its other parts, has stated that ' whilst he did not express an opinion contrary to the principle of the eleventh article ; yet as he was not possessed of the information which he judged to be necessary respecting the established usages, nor of any instructions from his Court on the subject of Military Regulations as far as they regarded the same, he requested that his reserve upon this article might be inserted in the Protocol of the Conference, at which the several articles were drawn up.'

In order to furnish such further information as may be necessary to enable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to make known to the Secretary of State their opinion ;—I am to acquaint you that the principle of the arrangement is to establish a perfect equality of rank amongst the powers mentioned in the fifth article.

I am, &c.

W. HAMILTON.

J. W. Croker, Esqr.

The enclosure of this letter is the same as that in Lord Bathurst's of the 6th February, which will be found at the end of this paper.

Digitized by Google

Memorandum on the subject of the Sovereignty of the Sea and of Salutes at Sea.[1]

Admiralty,
18th January 1815.

The sovereign dominion of the British Seas has been claimed by England 'time out of mind,' and this claim seems to have been pretty generally acquiesced in.[2]

But on the extent of the sovereignty and the precise meaning of the term, there has been much difference of opinion.

Some have considered it as a full *possessory dominion*, so that other Nations[3] navigating or fishing are to be considered as doing so only by licence or on sufferance.[4]

Others again assert that England herself never set up any exclusive possessory claim, but only insisted on a *nominal* sovereignty and on the empty honor of the acknowledgment of her right.[5]

And, finally, some have contended as a general proposition that the sea is *free*; and thence it is concluded that England has no real dominion except (as all Nations have) within her own immediate and *appropriate* waters.[6]

This last proposition, though carrying a strong

[1] There is an earlier draft of this memo. dated 15th Jan. in Ad. Minutes, vol. 184.

[2] [Selden, *Mare claus.* lib. 2; Borough's *Sovern. of the Seas*: *pass.*; Camp. L.A. vol. 1, p. 161; Naval Coll. and Pepysian Papers *pass.*; Burchett, c. 11, 12.]

[3] [Selden, Boroughs.]

[4] [On the question of the right of *passage* vide Ad. Nav. Coll. 1, 8.]

[5] [Vattel, b. 1, c. 23 and 289; Sir Philip Meadowes; Pepys Colln.; Quart. Review, v. 18, p. 298.]

[6] [Grotius, *M.L.* passim; Rayneval, *L. des Mers*; Spelman, *Of the Admir. jurisdiction*, p. 226; *sed quere.*]

Digitized by Google

appearance of reason and natural justice, has not been very favourably maintained by our adversaries in argument or by arms.

Of Grotius's work contending for the freedom of all seas, [and] of that of his antagonist [Selden] whose chief [object] is the maintenance of the English claim I need only say that they are to be considered, and particularly the latter, rather as the pleadings of advocates, than the result of the real and matured opinion of these great jurists.

The modern French writers [1] accuse Grotius of not carrying his argument *far enough* and some English authors have confessed that Selden pushed his *too far*, and there is a tradition that Selden himself spoke very slightingly of the value of *his* Work.[2]

It is observable that Sir H. Spelman in his discourse of the Admiralty jurisdiction [3] does not even allude to the supposed dominion of England over the Seas; but on the contrary states some principles with which the doctrine of the absolute Sovereignty is hardly compatible; [4] and in modern times the late Lord Liverpool in his valuable pamphlet on 'the conduct of England towards neutrals,' [5] forbears, or rather avoids, entering on the question of the dominion, though it was prominently offered to his notice, by the famous case of Grimbald (temp. Ed. I) to which his lordship refers.[6]

But for the purpose of this memorandum it is unnecessary to entangle ourselves in the abstract

[1] [Rayneval.]
[2] [Ad. Nav. Coll. 1, 8; Evelyn.]
[3] [Spelman's Works, fol. p. 217.]
[4] [N.B. There are some curious hiatus in the folio copy of Spelman 1722 in this part.]
[5] [1757.]
[6] [2 Rym. Foed. 941; Boroughs, 10; Burchett, c. 11.]

Digitized by Google

reasonings on the point, and I shall therefore only consider the case with a view to practical results.

'The right of the Flag is so ancient,' says Charles the 2nd in his Declaration of War against the Dutch 1671 'that it was one of the first prerogatives of our Royal predecessors and ought to be the last from which this Kingdom should ever depart,' and King William's declaration against France 1689 states that 'the right of the Flag inherent in the Crown of England has been disputed by his (Louis XIV) orders in violation of our Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, which all ages have been asserted by our predecessors and we are resolved to maintain for the honour of our Crown and of the British Nation.'

These declarations are particularly important, with reference to their results. We find that in the Treaty which concluded the Dutch War, the United Provinces engaged to pay the [right] of the Flag to England.

'The point of the Flag, says Sir William Temple the English Negociator, was carried to all the height His Majesty could have wished, and thereby a claim of the Crown—the acknowledgement of its dominion in the Narrow Seas allowed by Treaty from the most powerful of our neighbours at Sea—nothing I confess had ever given me greater pleasure in the public affairs I had run through, than this success; as having been a point I had ever had at heart, and in my endeavours to gain upon my first Negociations in Holland, but found M. de Witt ever inflexible; though he agreed with me that it would be a rock upon which our [firmest] alliances would be in danger [to] strike and split.'

It has been very properly remarked that

Digitized by Google

however Sir Wm. Temple may pique himself on this transaction the words of the engagement he obtained were less satisfactory on the subject of the claim of dominion than the article of the Treaty of Breda.

In practice, however, it answered all the purpose for which it was designed, and it has been on the part of Holland subsequently renewed, and was in force down to the last Revolution in 1795.

The declaration of King William derives more than ordinary importance from the wording of the Treaties of Breda and Ryswick, and the arguments thence deduced.

Vattel,[1] no favorer of the doctrine of the English dominion, says on this subject 'that the Fleets of England have given room to her Kings to claim the empire of the Seas that surround that Island, and the United provinces acknowledged it in some degree by the Treaty of Breda 1667, at least so far as relates to the honor of the Flag; but the French have never agreed to this pretension of England, and in that very Treaty of Breda, just mentioned, Louis XIV would not even suffer the Channel to be called the *English* Channel or the *British* Sea.'

This is true; and the limits of this Sea were expressed paraphrastically 'within the Soundings and as far as the Nase,' and nothing can be more in favour of the English pretension than the importance which the French Government and, after them, Vattel gave to these words, seeing that at the Treaty of Ryswick King William obliges the French to call the Channel &c. the *British* and North Seas: so that Vattel's argument deduced from the weakness of Charles 2nd is more than overthrown by the success of King

[1] [l. 1, c. 23.]

Digitized by Google

William, and if the former was a denial, the latter words must be a recognition of the English right on the part of France.

The right however thus asserted and thus far admitted is not quite so well defined.

Generally speaking it may be thus described; that in the British Seas the English Flag is supreme and paramount, and that all Foreign Vessels (of War or of Commerce) are in those Seas to desist from hostilities, even against each other, and in point of ceremony (which is our present affair *and indeed the only relique of our right*) the Foreign ship is 'in token of duty and homage,' to strike the Flag and lower the top-sails to the British Flag whether on board ship or in a fort.

But in this general statement one or two points require explanation, as they have given rise to serious differences.

1st. What are the British Seas?

A majority of Authorities state them to be all the Seas contained to the eastward, by the meridian of Cape Finisterre and the latitude of the Cape of the land van Staten in Norway, but it is curious and *not much*,[1] I think, to *the credit* of

[1] [Quere de hoc W. S.]

This is followed by a note, apparently by Croker, in red ink as follows:

[Note. I was a good deal surprised to observe by his marginal notes that Sir Wm. Scott approved the decision here alluded to, but I have at least the consolation to know that one of his learned predecessors coincided in my opinion. In fact quoting from memory I had made a mistake and had confounded the names of the Judge of the Admiralty with the King's Advocate of that day. It was the King's Advocate who advanced the doctrine which Sir Wm. Scott approves, but he was not so lucky as to have the then judge of his opinion, for he was decidedly against him. The Advocate was Sir N. Lloyd; the judge Sir H. Penrice. *Vide* Ad. Nav. Coll., vol. 1.]

Digitized by Google

the then Court of Admiralty that on the conclusion of the Spanish Treaty 1719 when captures in the British Seas were to be restored after 14 days, the judge (Sir Nath. Lloyd) held, (in the case of three Spanish Merchantmen taken within Cape Finisterre but beyond the chops of the Channel) that the Sovereignty extended to Cape Finisterre, yet the British Seas intended by the Treaty were *the Channel only* [1] and the ships were accordingly *condemned* as good prize.

It will have been observed that Sir William Temple and King William use the term '*narrow Seas*,' now, it appears from the numerous patents of the Admirals and Vice Admirals of the Narrow Seas that the limits of these Seas are distinctly defined to be from the Thames to the Island of Scilly and in a proclamation 1702 of Colours to be worn by Merchantmen, the British Seas seem by implication to be restricted to the Channel, and Sir Philip Meadows says of the old definition of *from Cape Finisterre to the Nase* that 'it is too wide for dominion and too narrow for respect.'

2nd. What was the actual ceremony?

The topsail or top-gallant sail (when the latter came into use) were always struck, but as to the Flag, it was sometimes struck and immediately rehoisted: sometimes it was *thrice* struck and permanently rehoisted; sometimes the Flag and the pendant were both struck, and sometimes and more generally, the Flag, once struck, was not hoisted again while in sight of the British ship or within shot of the fort.

But here again distinctions have been made, and it has been said that Foreign Ships should keep in their Flags in our harbours or seas only in presence of an Admiral, but that in presence

[1] [ut opinor recte.] In Scott's handwriting.

Digitized by Google

of private ships it is enough to strike thrice and then rehoist.

But whatever difference of opinion may have formerly arisen on the points either of the limits or the ceremony we may for our present practical purpose assume that the 9th Art. Chapt. *Salutes* of the old Naval instructions (established in 1757) contain the statement of the right and form for which the British contend.

'When any of His Majesty's Ships shall meet with the ships of any foreign power within His Majesty's Seas (which extend to Cape Finisterre) it is expected that the said foreign ships do strike their topsail and take in their Flag in acknowledgement of His Majesty's Sovereignty in those Seas, and if any do resist all Flag Officers and Commanders are to use their utmost endeavours to compel them thereto and not suffer any dishonor to be done to His Majesty &c., &c., and it is to be observed that in His Majesty's Seas His Majesty's Ships are in no wise to strike to any, and that in other ports no ship of His Majesty is to strike her flag and topsail to any foreigner, unless such foreign ship shall have first struck or at the same time strike her Flag or topsail to His Majesty's Ship.'

These ceremonies have been frequently, indeed I suppose on all occasions enforced, sometimes by arms, and the offending ship when taken has been brought in and the Captain tried at a Commission of Oyer and Terminer in the Admiralty Court, and the Court may award fine, imprisonment, or forfeiture of the vessel.

In 1677 the French ships of war the Fidèle and Pomponne were brought into Portsmouth by two British ships for having some time before refused or neglected to strike to a single British

Digitized by Google

ship; the vessels were sent to be kept in custody at Sheerness and the Captains were delivered to the Marshall to be tried for their offence at the Admiralty Sessions.

It is however here proper to observe that the Article of the instructions just quoted is omitted in the New Naval instructions which were prepared in 1805.

I shall now proceed to state chronologically some of the most important cases which appear to me to bear upon *this* and upon *another* question which is always connected and often confounded with the former, namely that of '*Salutes*,' and in considering these cases care must be taken to distinguish between the *homage* of Striking the Flag and topsail, which is a matter of *right*, and the Salute with Guns, which will be found, I think, a mere matter of *courtesy*.

In 1552 Vice Admiral Dudley being at Portsmouth wrote to the Council to know how he should 'use the Baron de la Garde being arrived with 12 sail of French ships, touching the honor of the Flag' in the event of the Squadrons meeting; the Council directed him that he should '*in respect of amity and for that the said Baron is stronger than he upon the Seas*, sometimes yield and sometimes receive the honor, but that in yielding it should make it show like courtesy and not like a derogation of the King's honor.'

This, which is the first entry I find on the subject of the Flag, is the only one in which the English privilege appears to have been '*yielded*.'

Philip of Spain when coming to marry our Queen Mary was fired into (by the English Admiral who fell in with him) for wearing his own royal flag in the British Seas.[1]

[1] [1554. Ad. Nav. Coll., vol. 1, p. 16.]

Digitized by Google

The King of Denmark returning from a visit to James the 1st was met off the mouth of the Thames by an English Captain who forced him to strike his flag.[1]

In 1647 a fleet of Swedes meeting some of our Men of War off the Wight refused to strike and an engagement ensued and they were all brought into the Downs.

In 1662 a provisional agreement was made with the French Government that *beyond Cape Finisterre* the ships of either side should demand nothing.[2]

In 1663 Sir Robert Holmes going down Swin in the Charles met the King of Denmark's brother coming up with his Flag flying and suffered him to pass without striking, 'for which he was clapt up in the Tower.'

In 1665 the French King's ordonnance directs that the ships of the King of *Spain* shall first salute the French, whenever they meet, even on the Coasts of Spain; but with regard to the *English* he makes no determination; but reserves to give hereafter such directions on this point as he may see fit, but in the meanwhile his officers are to avoid as much as possible all meeting with the English either in port or at Sea; and in 1669 Colbert then French Minister in England signed a writing[3] repeating and confirming the said provisional agreement of 1662, and 'till a good and solid agreement should be settled for all the Seas,' and he further declared that his Master would give orders conformably to be observed by his Officers, '*beyond Cape Finisterre*, in all Seas as well the ocean as the Mediterranean,' but

[1] [1606. *Ibid.*]
[2] [Ad. Nav. Coll., vol. 1, p. 35.]
[3] [Ad. Nav. Coll., vol. 1; 25 July.]

Digitized by Google

the King of France would not ratify this agreement, and the Ambassador was forced to own that he had misunderstood his instructions.

In 1672 (a case before alluded to) the French being our Allies against the Dutch, the Captains of our ships were ordered not to expect *the striking of the Flag or topsail* or *any salutes* from the French ships of war, nor to give them any Salutes.[1]

In 1681 an instruction was given to our officers not to demand or give any salutes from or to the French in any sea *beyond Finisterre* and hence the writer in the Naval Collections concludes that about this time some arrangement to this effect was made with France.

In 1695 the Charles galley met a *Danish* man of war off Fairley who refusing to strike, they engaged and our little ship had the worst of it; but orders were sent down to *seize the Dane* if she came into our ports.[2]

In 1704 Rear Admiral Whetstone cruising with a Squadron in Soundings met a *Swedish* convoy under a man of war of that Nation, who, refusing to strike, a scuffle ensued and in the end she struck; the Rear Admiral brought her and her convoy in, but she was immediately released in regard *that she had struck.*[3]

In 1711 two *Muscovite* frigates being sent into our seas with orders not to strike their Flag, which coming to our knowledge, Mr. Whetworth, our Ambassador, expostulated this matter with the Muscovite ministers; they said they were willing to enter into any agreement we had with *other Crowned heads* about the Flag, and hoped that no more could be expected from them; as we could

[1] [Ap. 28. Ad. Nav. Coll., I. 13; Nav. Coll., II. 103.]
[2] [Ad. Nav. Coll., I. 18.]
[3] [Ad. Nav. Coll., I. 18.]

Digitized by Google

allege no such Treaty they said their officers, like those of other powers, must take their chance, and if anything disagreeable should happen they hoped the Queen would not take it amiss, as the Czar would not, if it fell on his side.

In 1712, in the Treaty for the suspension of Arms at Paris[1] preparatory to the Congress at Utrecht, the English and French plenipotentiaries were very much alive to the question agitated at Breda and Ryswick as to the name by which the *British* Seas should be called. The French Minister proposed 'Les Mers qui entourent les Isles Britanniques,' and Burchett[2] relates with great satisfaction Lord Bolingbroke's patriotic resolution in striking out these words and inserting *British* Seas in their stead, but by a *mistake*, says Burchett, Lord Bolingbroke's emendation was inserted only in a place of less importance, and *unluckily* omitted where it was most necessary.

A reference to the words of the Article[3] will shew that the omission of the words *British Seas* in the first part of the Article is scarcely less injurious to our claim than their insertion in the second part where they were mentioned as being distinct from the Channel and North Sea, which we have always claimed as part of the British Seas.

In the treaty[4] of Utrecht itself, however, the term 'Mers Britanniques and Septentrionale' is used.

But again in the Treaty of Commerce concluded at the same time,[5] no designation of any particular seas is made, but the whole Treaty proceeds on principles of absolute reciprocity on all Seas. And though the Treaty is not [concerning] *Maritime*

[1] [Burchett, B. 1, c. 12.]
[2] [*Ibid.*]
[3] [Corps Dipl., T. 15, p. 308.]
[4] [Art. 17.]
[5] [Corps Dipl., T. 15, p. 345.]

Digitized by Google

Rights or *dominion*, yet its whole tenor in these points (in which it states that the ships of either party shall not be interrupted, insulted, molested &c. on any seas or on the Coasts of either Kingdom by the ships of the other) there seems to have been no (even *mental*) reservation of our claim of special dominion in the Narrow Seas.

Without laying any great stress on either the silence or equivocal expressions of treaties I may venture an opinion that a claim so solemnly made is a little invalidated by not being insisted upon at a settlement of differences with the power which has denied that claim.

In 1712, 1714 and 1724 complaints were made by France [1] that our ships refused to salute their French flag even in the port of Toulon until they had gun for gun and the Duc d'Aumant proposed that no salutes should be expected on either side till the matter was settled by a new regulation.

In 1717 the Assistance carrying an Ambassador to Leghorn, the fort saluted and the Assistance not returning the salute, the Florentines complained; the British answer was that the salute was to the Ambassador and that therefore the ships could not return it, but that if the Ambassador had not been on board the Assistance should have saluted the port first on an assurance of receiving gun for gun.[2]

In 1719, on the occasion of the co-operation of the English and French in the Spanish War a project was offered by France for settling the commands and salutes, and both sides, though differing in details were willing to agree to a principle of alternate command and perfect reciprocity, and the British Admiralty admitted

[1] [Ad. Nav. Coll., I. 26.]
[2] [L.L.S.S., v. 6, p. 158.]

Digitized by Google

that they saluted all foreign flags in their own ports but that they had never saluted any such flags on the high seas.[1]

In 1727 there was a proposition[2] for some co-operation between England and France and in the discussion on this subject Mr. De Broglie, the French Minister,[3] 'then agreed (convint) that the French King's ships and those of England should not expect salutes from each other from Cape Finisterre and any sea beyond, excepting the Channel wherein the English pretend a right of being saluted first.'

And it seems this latter question was referred to the British Admiralty to search for precedent on the subject and it is to this discussion that the writer in the Naval Collections[4] alludes, when he says that the French made propositions not to give or demand salutes on either side, and they transmitted extracts of the orders they had given from time to time not to demand salutes from the English though their general instructions obliged them to demand them from all Nations. '*But the Admiralty would hear nothing of it.*'

The answer,[5] however, of the Admiralty states the words of the instruction nearly the same as that before quoted, and adds 'that this instruction being of ancient standing and calculated to maintain the Sovereignty of the Crown of Great Britain in the Seas appertaining thereto we cannot presume to advise the departing therefrom, or the making of any alteration therein. And as for salutes out of the limits of the aforesaid seas,

[1] [L.L.S.S., vol. 6, p. 260.]
[2] [S.S. Corresp., St. Pap. Office, sub anno.]
[3] [8 May 1727; S.S.L., v. 21, Feb. 19, 1729.]
[4] [Ad. Nav. Coll., v. 1, p. 36.]
[5] [L.L., vol. 6, p. 443; 19 Ap. 1727.]

Digitized by Google

there is no such thing demanded by the ships of His Majesty's Royal Navy upon their meeting with those belonging to any other Prince or State; nor are they in such case to strike their Flag or topsail to them unless they shall have first struck, or at the same time shall strike their Flag or topsail to His Majesty's ships.'

It seems however the British Ministry at large has entertained an opinion that a general arrangement of the matter might have been made, for, the Duke of Newcastle writes [1] to Mr. Walpole, April the 27th 1727, 'As we do not pretend to any superiority at sea beyond Cape Finisterre, what has been proposed by the Court of France, of entirely laying aside those salutes, would in any Service on the other side of that Cape be readily agreed to; and I cannot but think that we may from *former precedents be able to come to some general Regulation of this matter*; however, as in all probability, the case will not happen, that our Squadrons will join where there can be any dispute, your Excellency will make the Cardinal perfectly easy upon it.'

But the question did arise soon after in an unexpected manner, and then notwithstanding the high tone lately taken by the Admiralty we shall find the British Government absolutely conceding the point.

In November 1728 a French man of war of 24 guns coming out of Hamoaze and passing by the Gosport in the Sound of Plymouth was obliged to strike her pendant and lower her topsail. Immediately after she saluted with 11 guns which the Gosport returned. Lieutenant Smith who was commanding officer in the Gosport was turned out for taking up the salute (which the French

[1] [S.S. Corresp., R. Pap. Off., sub anno.]

Digitized by Google

Captain alleged was intended for the fort) for his instructions did not warrant him *to demand a salute with guns.*

Such is the account given in the Naval Collection [1]; but on reference to the original papers it appears, that the French Government having complained of this transaction, the Duke of Newcastle directed [2] the Admiralty to enquire and report the circumstances for the King's information. A report was made of the facts nearly as stated in the Naval Collections, but the Lords of the Admiralty added [3] 'that demanding a salute by guns is not required by the instructions given to His Majesty's officers,' and though it did not appear (but the contrary) that Lieutenant Smith had demanded the salute with guns, the Duke of Newcastle, in reply,[4] signified the King's pleasure that, 'it appearing that the Lieutenant had exceeded his instructions he should be forthwith dismissed His Majesty's Service on account of his behaviour in that respect,' and the French Government were afterwards acquainted that His Majesty had ordered Lieutenant Smith to be dismissed his Service.[5]

Now on whatever ground the British Government may have justified the dismissal of Smith it is clear that the French Government was authorised to make use of this letter in the sense we shall find them employing it in the next case.

In September 1769 a small French frigate anchoring in the Downs, the Senior Officer, Captain Hollwell, required that she should strike

[1] [Ad. Nav. Coll., vol. 1, p. 19.]
[2] [S.S.L., 19 Feb. 1728.]
[3] [L.L.S.S., p. 13.]
[4] [S.S. Letters, 27 March 1729.]
[5] [S.S. Corres., S. P. Office, sub anno 1769.]

Digitized by Google

her pendant in respect to His Majesty's Flag[1]; and on refusal he ordered Captain Lloyd of the sloop Hawke to fire at the Frenchman, and after two shots the frigate struck her pendant.

This produced a remonstrance from the French Government, and a demand of satisfaction—the British Minister replied that the officer had done no more than obey his instructions and that it would be unjust to punish him for so doing. To this the French replied asserting roundly the principle of perfect equality and reciprocity and in support of their pretentions enclosing a copy of the letter written to them in the former case of 1729, to which the British Minister with many vague expressions of civility and friendship answered that Captain Lloyd was now gone to the East Indies and that the King of France must be too just to require that this officer should be condemned in his absence.

Upon this, the matter seems to have been permitted to drop, and the French Court afterwards expressed itself satisfied with what had passed.[2]

On this case it is right to remark that Captain Lloyd who was sent to the East Indies could not, *in the opinion of the British Government*, have been at all responsible for the transaction as he had merely acted in pursuance of the commands of his superior officer Captain Hollwell.

The next and last cause which I find is in May 1794 when the Hebe frigate in the Channel 'fired a shot at a Dutch frigate for passing without paying proper respect to the British Flag,' upon which the Dutchman saluted with 9 guns which were returned.[3]

[1] [S.S. Corresp., St. Pap. Off., sub anno.]
[2] [S.S. Corresp., St. P. Off., sub anno.]
[3] [Hebe's Log, sub anno Ad. Rec.]

Digitized by Google

In this case the British Captain evidently mistook his duty in accepting the *salute*, which he was not entitled to enforce instead of the ***homage*** which he was.

From the preceding statement the following practical conclusions may be deduced.[1]

1st. That the striking of the Flag and Topsail claimed by England as a matter of right and acknowledgement of Sovereignty has never been admitted by any power but the Dutch, though it was prior to King William's time acquiesced in by other powers.

2nd. That since King William's time we have no instance of acquiescence on the part of France, unless the words 'British Seas' in the treaty of Ryswick and Utrecht, and the order of the French King to his officers to give and demand no *salutes* from the English *beyond* Cape Finisterre may be considered as such, while in two cases in which the striking was enforced, in 1727 and 1769, we, in the first case absolutely abandoned the claim by the dismissal of the officers, and notifying that dismissal to France as a consequence of their complaint; and in the 2nd we evade the point by, what I must call, a very unworthy equivocation.

3rd. We cannot rely much on the tacit acquiescence of foreign powers in our claim, since it will be urged against us that we have ourselves tacitly and virtually renounced it; first by abandoning in the year 1801, the style of King of France, and secondly by omitting the old article out of the new Instructions 1805.

It may be safely said (notwithstanding some respectable opinions to the contrary)[2] that it

[1] Marginal note in pencil: [Conclusion added since the first paper was prepared.]

[2] [Sir J. Boroughs, pass.]

Digitized by Google

was to the possession de facto or de jure of both shores that the Kings of England first claimed the dominion; this notion is supported by the principles of natural law,—by the fact that the circumstances on which the doctrine of the dominion was in the older times chiefly built, occurred in the reigns of Kings[1] who either had or claimed a right to both the shores.

But it seems to be proved irrefragably by the fact that the patent of Lord High Admiral of England (even as late as the time of James 2nd) also constituted him Warden of *Calais* and the Marches thereof, and *High Admiral of Normandy, Aquitaine and Guienne,* thus confessing that the aggregate authority of the Admiral comprised two separate jurisdictions, viz[t]. the English Admiralty and the French Admiralties, and the High Admiral of England, being now not *even nominally* High Admiral of Aquitaine &c. it follows that this portion of his former power has devolved into other hands, namely those of the King of France, who now possesses de jure, and de facto, Calais and the Marches thereof, Normandy, Aquitaine and Guienne.

Secondly, a renunciation of this claim may be inferred from the omission in the Naval instructions prepared in 1805, and promulgated in 1806, of the article of the old instructions already quoted, by which the acknowledgement of the Sovereignty was to be enforced, and in consequence of this omission ships of Spain, Holland, Russia and France have entered even our very ports without being required to strike either flag or topsail. I quote here the recent words of a member of the Board of Admiralty[2] which made

[1] [Richard I; John; Edward I; Edward III.]

[2] [Lord Gambier; *vide* also the opinion of Adm. Sir Roger Curtis in the Appendix to the same effect.]

Digitized by Google

the alteration. 'It was omitted *solely* upon the ground of the absurdity of the practice, and the certainty, if insisted upon, of involving the Nation in disputes with Foreign powers.' 'I must say I shall be sorry to see it revived—there are many most cogent reasons against it and not a single *reasonable* or *just* argument in its favour.'

4th. I think then I am authorised to conclude that at this hour the exclusive dominion of the Seas, or at least the acknowledgement due to that dominion from other Nations, has been totally abandoned by us, and that no right to such acknowledgement does exist, and that in fact no such acknowledgement is claimed or paid.[1]

5th. It is evident that salutes, properly so called, have never been demanded by us of *right*; but have always been between us and other Nations considered as matters of *reciprocal courtesy*, and the only way in which *this* question is connected with that of the *dominion* of the seas, is, that we and all Nations have held that the first salute was due from the stranger to the Flag of the country in whose port he arrived, and as we held the whole British Seas to be our appropriate and exclusive property, we refused to give the *first* salute in them to any Nation, though we were willing to return the salute of every Nation, gun for gun; but salutes at sea never having been hitherto claimed as a right by any Nation it never has occurred that a question of salute has involved a question of dominion, nor can it, *as the law and practice of Europe now stands.*

But if the proposition which seems to have been made at Vienna, namely that all Flags shall salute one another *at sea* on terms of reciprocity,

[1] Marginal note in pencil: [Then why renounce it in form —which is to condemn all that has been done by our ancestors.]

Digitized by Google

then and *then only* the old question of dominion will be revived, and then the British negociator will be obliged either to strive for the obsolete and now unmaintainable distinction between the British and the High Seas, or formally to abandon this ancient claim; I need not say that both of these courses are liable to great objection.

6. But if the Congress of Vienna shall be inclined to establish that *no salutes* whatever shall be demanded *on the seas*, and that in the ports and on the immediate coast of any country, the *stranger* ship shall salute first and receive in return an equal number of guns, it will do no more than adopt the present usual practice of England, France, and indeed of all the civilized world; it will thus establish a system of perfect reciprocity, without invading or interfering with any claim now made by any European power.

7. But, it will be said, if the present practice be unexceptionable the Congress need not enter upon the question at all. I venture however to think it would be better to decide it by a solemn agreement, for at present it stands on no solid ground and is liable to infraction from the temporary heats or animosities of Courts or Officers. We have seen a British Yacht claiming and refused gun for gun at Toulon in 1712; and in 1727 a French Gabarde claiming and receiving gun for gun at Plymouth. It would therefore, I think, be proper to reduce this custom into a precise engagement. But whatever principle be adopted on this subject, one point of detail with regard to the return of salutes must be attended to and settled.

When I state that salutes are returned gun for gun I mean between officers of equal rank; but England, France and all other countries have

Digitized by Google

made distinctions between Flags respectively, and between Flagships and single pendants, and the general practice is that the superior should return to the inferior officer two guns less.

8. This arrangement is just and proper between officers of the *same* Nation; but between two countries the reciprocal respect is paid to the national flag, and ought not to be mixed up with the personal rank of individual officers.[1]

This principle is so true that no Fort, though commanded by an officer ever so high in rank, refuses to return the salute of a foreign pendant with an equal number of guns, and why should the flag afloat be entitled to make a difference which the Flag ashore does not?[2] It should therefore be provided that the salutes and returns between equal nations should be on terms of equality, and the smallest national vessel entering the Port of Portsmouth or Brest and saluting the National Flag, should receive, in respect to the Flag which it carries, either from the Fort ashore or the Senior Officer afloat, the return of an equal number of guns.

9. On those general principles I venture to propose, as abandoning no principle, as deviating from no practice, as involving no difficulties, and as establishing a perfect reciprocity, the following sketch of an agreement on the subject of *salutes*.

1st. No salutes shall be required from the national ships of one country to those of another on the high seas.

[1] [Note. This argument was made on a supposition that it was desirable that salutes should have no reference to the rank of the individuals saluting.]

[2] Marginal note in pencil: [Because perhaps it is not true that the Salute between ships stands only on the ground stated].

Digitized by Google

2nd. Every national ship of one country anchoring in the port or on the coast [1] of another within sight of the Flag of the latter, either ashore or afloat, shall salute the said flag, and shall receive in return a salute from the fort or ship of an equal number of guns.

3rd. The salutes to be received and given by the ships and forts of all powers of the first class [2] shall consist of the same number of guns, and the whole system of salutes and courtesy shall be on a principle of perfect reciprocity.

4th. All salutes shall be given and returned from the ships of the Senior Officers respectively, or from a fort in which the national flag is flying.

5th. Salutes shall be fired only between sunrise and sunset.

J. W. CROKER.

Jan. 23rd.

[*Note in Croker's handwriting.*]

This Memorandum and Proposition having been submitted to the Cabinet, His Majesty's Ministers were, as I have heard, alarmed at the idea of giving up any of the maritime rights of England and they thought it better to evade even the discussion of any such points; it was therefore determined that the Admiralty should write a letter to that effect; which I accordingly prepared and which will be found in page 129 [p. 322 *below*].

Foreign Office,
6th Feby. 1815.

My Lords,—I have the honor to send herewith to your Lordships the copy of a communica-

[1] Marginal pencil note, perhaps by Scott: [state distance.]
[2] [? distinction.]

Digitized by Google

tion dated the 22nd ulto. from Viscount Castlereagh, relating to what has been done at the Congress towards settling à l'amicable the differences existing between the Courts of Europe upon points of etiquette :—and I have to request that your Lordships will have the goodness to take into consideration so much of this communication as relates to Naval Salutes at sea and in port, and that you will acquaint me, for the information of His Royal Highness, with your opinion as to the Instructions with which it would be right that His Majesty's plenipotentiary at the Congress should be furnished upon this subject.

I have &c.

(signed) BATHURST.

Vienna,
Jany. 22nd 1815.

My Lord,—I transmit to your Lordship the Report of a Commission instituted to terminate, if possible, à l'amicable the differences existing between the Courts of Europe upon points of etiquette.

In a subsequent deliberation upon this Report, the Protocol of which is not yet signed, doubts have been entertained whether any attempt should be made to establish any rank among the Courts, or to classify them, and whether we should not confine ourselves to simply laying down a rule, by which precedence may hereafter be regulated between their Ministers at Foreign Courts. I own my opinion bears strongly to this course as the least likely to give umbrage whilst it affords an adequate remedy to the existing embarrassment.

Your Lordship will see that Salutes at Sea

Digitized by Google

and in Port have attracted notice; as this mixes itself with ancient pretensions on our part, of which I am no judge, I desired Lord Cathcart to save it for further consideration.

In a conference the night before last of the eight powers, this point was rather earnestly urged. Not having any information or instructions I desired to exclude it, at least to suspend it, for the present. In this Austria and Russia concurred, but the other five Powers voted for its reconsideration and wish me to ask for instructions.

I beg to know what the Prince Regent's pleasure is on this subject.

1st. Is the principle of equality and reciprocity to be admitted between all Powers, and in all cases; and if not, what line is to be drawn?

2dly. If it is, what Regulations as to Salutes between the Powers are to be laid down and by whom to be settled?

3rdly. Is the arrangement to be confined to the Service by Sea or is it to be general and to extend to that by land?

I have the honor to be &c.
(signed) CASTLEREAGH.

Protocol des Séances tenues le 16, 24, 27 et 30 Déc^re. 1814 par la commission nommée dans la conférence du 10^me., afin de presenter un rapport à l'Assemblée des Plenipotentiaires sur les principes à etablir pour régler le rang entre les Couronnes, et tout ce qui en est une consequence.

Le 16^me. Décembre 1814 les huit membres composant la commission se sont réunis chez le Chevalier Labrador, Plenipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Catholique, élu President par le sort. La séance a été consacrée à rechercher les objets qui doivent

Digitized by Google

faire partie du travail confié à la Commission. Chacun des membres ayant présenté ses vues à cet egard, il a été décidé ensuite que M. le Plenipotentiaire de France redigeroit sur cet objet un travail qui seroit soumis à la Commission dans une prochaine séance. Cette séance a été fixée par M. le President au 24$^{me.}$ Decembre.

Le dit jour, 24 Décembre, les huit membres composant la commission étant réunis chez M. Labrador, le Plenipotentiaire de France a presenté le travail dont il étoit chargé. Après plusieurs discussions et amendemens sur chacun des Articles, on s'est accordé sur le plus grand nombre entr'eux sans cependant les arrêter définitivement.

M. le Comte de Cathcart Plenipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne a observé qu'il croyoit que l'article relatif au salut de mer pourroit donner lieu à quelques difficultés, et qu'il desiroit qu'on pût l'ajourner. Il a été convenu qu'on s'occuperoit de cet objet dans la première séance. Elle a été fixée au 27 du Courant.

Le dit jour les huit Membres de la Commission étant réunis au lieu accoutumé des séances, on a pris une nouvelle lecture des articles qui avoient été convenus dans la dernière séance et ils ont été definitivement arrêtés.

L'article onze relatif au salut en mer qui avoit été ajourné à cette séance a été de nouveau reproduit.

M. le Plenipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne n'a point exprimé une opinion contraire au principe énoncé dans cet article ; mais il a dit que ne se trouvant pas muni des informations qui lui ont paru necessaires relativement aux usages établis, ni des instructions de sa cour au sujet des réglemens militaires à cet egard, il demandoit qu'on insérat sa réserve sur cet article au Protocole.

Digitized by Google

La Commission croyant avoir terminé le travail qui lui étoit confié, s'est ajournée au trente du courant pour signer la nouvelle expédition à presenter à M.M. les P.P.

RAPPORT

Messieurs—La Commission des huit Plenipotentiaires soussignés nommée dans votre conférence du dix Décembre 1814 à l'effet de vous faire un rapport sur les principes à etablir pour régler le rang entre les Couronnes et tout ce qui en est une consequence, a l'honneur de vous soumettre le travail dont elle est convenue.

La Commission se borne à vous présenter les articles qu'elle a adoptés. Elle ne croit pas necessaire d'entrer dans les developpements des motifs qui l'ont determinée à l'adoption de chacun d'eux ; ses membres se trouvant parmi vous pourront vous donner les explications qui paroitrent necessaires.

Tous les articles qu'elle vous presente ont été convenus à l'unanimité : le seul article 11 ne l'a pas été par M. le Plenipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne. Il a dit qu'il n'exprimait point une opinion contraire au principe énoncé dans cet article, mais que ne se trouvant pas muni des informations qui lui ont paru necessaires relativement aux usages établis, ni des instructions de sa cour au sujet des réglemens militaires à cet égard il demandoit qu'on insérat sa reserve sur cet article au protocole ; ce qui a été fait.

Article 1

Les employés diplomatiques seront partagés en trois classes.

Celle des ambassadeurs, legats ou Nonces.

Digitized by Google

Celle des Envoyés accredités auprès des Souverains.

Celle des Chargés d'Affaires accredités auprès du Ministre chargé des affaires étrangères.

Article 2

Les Ambassadeurs, Legats ou Nonces ont seuls le caractère representatif.

Article 3

Les employés diplomatiques en mission extraordinaire n'ont à ce titre aucune supériorité de rang.

Article 4

Les employés diplomatiques prennent le rang entre eux dans chaque classe, d'après la date de la remise de leurs lettres de créance.

Article 5

Les employés diplomatiques des Puissances Imperiales et Royales, du Pape, du Prince Souverain des Provinces unies des Pays Bas, des Etats unis d'Amérique, et de la Confederation Suisse, ont dans leur Classe le rang sur ceux des autres Etats.

Article 6

Si par l'absence, la maladie d'un Souverain ou quelque autre cause que ce soit, plusieurs employés diplomatiques de la même classe se trouvent obligés d'attendre pour la remise de leurs lettres de créance, ils seront admis chez le Souverain auprès duquel ils sont accredités, d'après la date de la notification de leur arrivée.

Digitized by Google

Article 7

Il sera determiné dans chaque état un mode uniforme pour la reception des employés diplomatiques de chaque classe.

Article 8

Les liens de parenté ou d'alliance de famille entre les Cours ne donnera aucun rang à leur employés diplomatiques.

Il en est de même des alliances politiques.

Article 9

L'alternat dans les Traités est etabli entre les Puissances mentionnées à l'Article 5.

Il ne l'est pas entre elles et les autres Souverains.

Article 10

Lors qu'un Traité ou autre acte officiel comprendra plusieurs des Puissances mentionnées à l'Article 5, dans l'original qui devra rester à chaqune d'elles, le nom de cette puissance sera placé le premier, et celui des autres Souverains le sera dans l'ordre de leur évènement à la couronne, et pour les Republiques, d'après la date de l'election de leur Premier Magistrat.

Le même principe réglera l'ordre que les Plenipotentiaires devront servir pour la signature des dits Traités ou actes officiels.

Article 11

Le salut dans les Ports, et en haute mer est réglé pour les vaisseaux et escadres des Puissances mentionnées en l'Article 5 d'après le principe énoncé à l'article 10.

Digitized by Google

Les reglemens necessaires à l'application de ce principe seront determinés sur le pied de la plus parfaite reciprocité.

Les vaisseaux des autres Etats accordent les premiers ce salut à ceux des Puissances mentionnées ci-dessus.

Article 12

Les employés diplomatiques auront pendant 6 mois la franchise de l'entrée de tous les objets qu'ils declareront être destinés à leur usage.

Cette franchise sera renouvellée tous les trois ans pendant trois mois.

signé. CATHCART.
PALMELLA.
WESSENBERG.
LATOUR DU PIN.
HUMBOLDT.
STACKELBERG.
GOMEZ LABRADOR.
CHARLES C. LOWENHEILM.

Admiralty Office,
7th Feby. 1815.

My Lord,—We have received your Lordship's letter of the 6th instant, transmitting the copy of a letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated the 22nd ulto. with its enclosures; and desiring us to take into consideration so much of this communication as relates to Naval Salutes at Sea and in Port, and acquaint your Lordship for His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's information of our opinion as to the instructions with which it would be right that His Majesty's Plenipotentiary at the Congress should be furnished on this subject; in reply thereto we request

Digitized by Google

your Lordship to report to His Royal Highness our humble opinion that the proposed arrangement is liable to objection, and would involve this country in some difficulty.

England has always claimed the Sovereign Dominion of the British Seas; namely, all those comprehended within the Meridian of the Cape Finisterre and the latitude of Van Staten in Norway; and within these limits we formerly claimed and enforced from the ships of other nations an acknowledgement of our Sovereignty by the striking of the flag and topsail.

In later times the homage (as it is frequently called) has not been insisted upon, and we apprehend has not, in point of fact, been for many years paid to our Flag; but as no formal renunciation has ever been made on the part of this country, we should be unwilling to advise that this ancient claim should now be formally renounced, or even brought into discussion with Foreign Powers, and this would happen (not indeed as a direct consequence, but eventually) if the proposition from Vienna should be adopted.

It is a general principle that a stranger Flag arriving in the Ports or appropriate waters of any nation should give the first salute: and as our ancient principle seems to consider the British Seas at large as our appropriate waters, it would follow that within those limits we cannot, in any case, give the first salute without an absolute and direct abandonment of the claim of Sovereignty.

And if even this objection did not exist we should be in the greatest degree adverse to a regulation which should oblige us in our Ports and Harbours and on our own Coasts to offer the first salute to the flag of any foreign nation, and we request your Lordship to lay before His Royal

Digitized by Google

Highness our humble advice against any arrangement which can lead to such consequences.

We further beg leave to report our opinion that as far as relates to matters of courtesy or etiquette between the ships of different nations, there is no necessity for establishing any new Regulations. No real inconvenience is felt from the present practice, which is to abstain from all salutes on the High Seas, and for stranger ships to salute first the flag of the nation in whose Ports they arrive. The arrangement proposed at Vienna that ships of different nations should salute each other, not only in Port but on the High Seas, according to the seniority of their Sovereigns or Chief Magistrates, would in all probability lead to unpleasant mistakes. It could not be expected, especially in a Navy on such an extended scale as that of Great Britain, that every Commander of a vessel (one returning, for instance, to Europe from a distant part of the world) should be apprized of the relative seniority of the Sovereigns of all foreign states; and yet if he conceived himself entitled to be saluted, it would be his duty to insist upon it and, if possible, to compel a stranger vessel to pay due respect to his flag.

Having thus stated to your Lordship our most prominent objections to the arrangement proposed at Vienna, respecting Salutes at sea and in port and our reasons for thinking that it would be found inconvenient to all nations, and particularly obnoxious to this country, and that no alteration in the present practice is necessary, we conceive that we have sufficiently replied to the two first questions which Lord Castlereagh proposes.

We do not feel ourselves competent to offer any opinion on the third; and as it may be desirable that Lord Castlereagh should be apprized

Digitized by Google

of the existing regulations in His Majesty's Navy respecting the intercourse of His Ships with Foreign Nations, we enclose herewith a copy of Articles on that subject contained in the Naval Instructions.

We are, My Lord, &c.

Extracts from the Naval Instructions 1806:

'SALUTES'

X. Flag Ships are to return the salutes of foreign ships of war, in the same manner as they return the salutes of His Majesty's ships. If a Captain be saluted by a foreign ship of war, he is to return it with an equal number of guns.

XV. If the ship of a Flag Officer anchor in any foreign port or road he is to inform himself what salutes have been usually given or received by Flag Officers of his rank, of other nations or by those of His Majesty, and he is to insist on receiving the same marks of respect.

XVI. If a ship not carrying a flag anchor in any foreign port or road, the Captain may salute the fort with such a number of guns as may have been customary, on his receiving an assurance from the Governor that the fort will return an equal number, but without such an assurance he is never to salute.

XXIII. If a ship which anchors in any foreign port or road shall find there a Flag Officer of the nation to which the port belongs, the Captain may salute such Flag Officers with as many guns as he would salute a British Flag Officer of the same rank, on his being assured that his salute shall be returned, in the same manner as it would be returned to a ship of that nation.

XXIV. Within His Majesty's Seas His ships are not on any account to strike their topsails, nor take in their flags; nor in any way to salute any foreign ship whatever; nor are they in any other Seas to strike their topsails nor take in their flags to any foreign ships, unless

Digitized by Google

such foreign ships shall have first struck, or shall at the same time strike their flags and topsails to His Majesty's ships.

[*Note in Croker's Handwriting*]

Here follow the opinions of Admirals Lord Gambier and Sir Roger Curtis which I obtained on this subject.

Iver Grove,
21st Jany. 1815.

In answer to your note of the 17th respecting the omission of the Article in the new Instructions, for demanding the salute and lowering the topsail &c., it was omitted *solely* on the ground of the absurdity of the practice and the certainty, if insisted upon, of involving the nation in disputes with Foreign Powers. I cannot say whether Lord Barham consulted the Cabinet upon the subject; it originated from myself, he *entirely approved* of it:—as to Sir Wm. Young's opinion, I cannot recollect what it was. Sir R. Curtis and Sir Wm. Domett had the whole of the Instructions submitted to their consideration before they were sent to the Council. I conclude therefore that the omission of the Article was not disapproved by those two mentioned Officers. If the Government are disposed to revive the custom, this is the moment to issue the instruction; but I must say I shall be sorry to see it revived—there are many most cogent reasons against it, and not a single *reasonable* or *just* argument in its favour.

Yours most sincerely,
GAMBIER.

Digitized by Google

The authorities quoted in the Memoire I have been allowed to peruse show that no little labour has been bestowed on the subject. The case is fully and fairly stated and I greatly rejoice at the conclusion: for I have ever considered our claim to the Sovereignty of what we call the British Seas as a vain, empty and pernicious pretension, never generally admitted, and as it appears has been sometimes very discreditably abandoned. It placed officers in situations of perplexity and peril. If according to his instructions [he] enforced the claim, he might, if the politics of the time were deemed to require it, be sacrificed to temporary considerations and on the same grounds he might be punished for not conforming to his general orders. The Article in our old Instructions relative to enforcing the taking in the flag and lowering the topsails was I know considered as a mischievous and ridiculous order by many now deceased officers of sound understanding and great distinction, but as it flattered the pride and prejudices of Englishmen, the Government had never resolution enough to annul it. Many years ago I had a conversation on this subject with an officer of high rank,[1] with whom I was for a great length of time intimately connected, and whose professional abilities and correctness of judgment I shall ever hold in the greatest respect. I was reasoning on the folly and indeed cruelty of retaining in the Book of Instructions an Article which placed officers in command in so unpleasant and dangerous a situation; and warmed with the subject, I said, if it fell to my lot I would *obey my orders*, let what would be the consequence. The reply was short 'then you will do a very foolish thing, and a man possessing

[1] Note in Croker's hand: [Admiral Lord Howe].

Digitized by Google

so little discretion ought not to be trusted with command.' This shows however that the great man to whom I allude considered the article in question by no means advisable but fraught with mischief.

I have observed that the more early writers on our maritime affairs did frequently style what we call the *British Channel, the Sleeve.*

Nothing has so much contributed to make us hated by other nations as our naval insolence, which on many occasions has been carried to a pitch absolutely insufferable. It was the saying of a very popular Admiral of what is called the old school, who has been dead a great many years, ' Well, commend me to the good old times, when an Englishman never did *right* and would suffer no *wrong.*' Fifty years ago I was midshipman of a frigate that was lying at Cadiz where at the time the flag of the Spanish Admiral commanding at the port was flying. A Dutch ship of war was observed to be coming in—immediately our guns were prepared, and the instant the Dutchman had fired the last gun of his salute we took it up and returned it. The Spaniard not being so much on the alert as we were [did] not reply to the salute of the Dutch ship until some minutes after we had finished. Shortly after an officer from the Dutchman came on board us and said ' their ship was always ready to pay due respect to the English flag, but in this instance their salute was not intended for the English flag, but for the flag of the Spanish Admiral in his own port.' The reply was short ' we know nothing of your intentions but we know what is your duty.' The Spaniards whether viewing the transaction with *contempt,* or guarded by motives of prudence, said nothing on the subject.

Digitized by Google

But after all—were our pretensions to supremacy in the British Seas universally admitted, what advantages could result from it? The real Sovereignty will ever be in that nation who can send thither the strongest naval force. Shall we then contend for an unprofitable [custom]?

In regard to the new naval Instructions prepared in 1805 they were, as Lord Gambier states, submitted to the consideration of Sir William Domett and myself, and we both concurred in the wisdom of omitting in them the Article which was in the former Instructions for demanding the homage from foreign ships therein expressed. And I do entirely agree in the sentiments expressed by his Lordship on the subject in his letter to Mr. Barrow dated the 31st January last.

ROGER CURTIS.

20 May 1815.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TWO LETTERS

FROM

BLAKE TO MOUNTAGU

1656–7

EDITED BY
G. E. MANWARING

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE two following letters from Robert Blake to Edward Mountagu, afterwards first Earl of Sandwich, are printed from the originals at Hinchingbrooke. They are entirely in Blake's handwriting, and are of particular interest, both of them having been written during the last year of the Admiral's life, when he was obviously very ill. In the autumn of 1655 Mountagu was appointed a Commissioner of the Admiralty, and when Blake, owing to ill health, expressed a desire for a colleague, the choice fell on Mountagu. On the 2nd of January 1656 he was appointed joint General-at-Sea, and by March the 15th Blake and Mountagu, with their flag in the Naseby, sailed with the fleet for Cadiz. Finding they were too late to intercept the Spanish galleons, the two Generals-at-Sea, with part of the fleet, sailed for the Mediterranean with the object of finding a port which could be used as a base instead of Gibraltar. After a few weeks Blake and Mountagu returned to Oeiras Bay at the mouth of the Tagus, while Stayner, the Rear-Admiral, was instructed to cruise before Cadiz. It was while engaged on this task that Stayner intercepted and captured several Spanish galleons laden with silver and plate. Mountagu, in the Naseby, was ordered to bring the treasure to England, where he arrived on the 28th of October 1656. Blake's first letter was written shortly after he parted with his colleague. Mountagu was not at sea again until 17th of July 1657, and three weeks later Blake died on board the George at the entrance to Plymouth Sound, after achieving a magnificent victory over the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz, off Teneriffe.

G. E. M.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TWO LETTERS FROM BLAKE TO MOUNTAGU, 1656–7

Noble S^r^,—I did very much sympathise with you in the stormy and contrary weather which I suppose you had shortly after our parting. But I trust the Lord was with you in it and that this will find you safe and well in England. Nor was I (though in a good Roade) without my particular trouble and tossings. This place is a prison to mee and all the comfort which I can promise myselfe by my enlargement now at hand is that I shall be with my charge and I trust the Lord will be with us. What difficulties we are likely to encounter therein besides those which are ordinary to the season of the yeare and how hard a thing it will be to keepe the whole squadron entire together to attend all opportunities of service for many reasons yourselfe can very well judge especially our trouble will be exceeding great if the victualling ships be not hastened away whereof we have no small cause to be very apprehensive because as you know the letter sent unto us touching it was so indefinite in all the circumstance thereof that wee may well doubt whether that dew care which is promised to be taken at home will bring forth fruit in dew time to us abroad. My hopes do very much depend upon your noble selfe who I doubt not will use your utmost endeavour to set all wheels at worke to quicken an expedicion of so great consequence. The foule weather was a hinderance for 3 dayes to

Digitized by Google

our dispatch. We are now ready to saile with the first wind it being at present starke calme as it was yesterday. The Agent is on bord the Entrance bound for England with the Hope and our Dogger. The Nantwich is to careene and will be ready within sixe dayes to follow us with the Marigold. There go with them the Speaker, Tredagh, and Providence. The last I take along with mee to send home advise as soone as I shall have any light touching the preparacions at Cadiz. The intelligence there is various the most current is that there are two Condes sent down by expresse command to hasten them with all diligence. If the presence of the Lord be with us as we hope it will all then will go well with us notwithstanding theire rage and our difficulties which are both very great. S^{r}, I shall not trouble you much longer but make it my earnest desire that you will be pleased to remember my most humble service unto the L. Protector and to assure his Highnes of my faithfull and utmost endeavours to discharge the trust reposed in mee. The Lord watch over his Person and Affaires for good and blesse the Parlement to the weale of this Nation under his Government that all godly and well minded people may have signall cause to blesse the Lord and to rejoice in him. S^{r}, I pray be mindfull of this bearer Cap. Haward an honest able godly man.

Noble S^{r}, I pray you to present my service to C. Disbrough and to his lady and particularly to your owne unto whome I wish all happiness with your selfe in the Lord and remaine

Your very humble Servant,

ROB. BLAKE.

Abord the Swiftsure in the Bay of Weyers
Oct: 10 1656.

Digitized by Google

Noble S^r^,—I wish you much good and firmnes of strength by your retirement to Hinchingbrooke from whence the last two letters I received from you were dated one the 13 and tother the 15 of Dec. As for us that are abroad the Lord hath bin pleased in great mercy to provide for our safety and in particular for my selfe in supporting mee against the many indisposicions of my body so that by his blessing I doubt not to be enabled to continue out in the service the ensuing somer. The supply of the 4 moneths victuall which the Com^rs^ have appointed for us I hope will be the last supplied to this voiage. I cannot imagine them so insensible of my condicion as to condemne mee to the durance of another winter. Neither can I conceive it advisable to the publike interest to keepe out the squadron so long. The Swiftsure in which I was is so foule and unwieldy through the defects of her sheathing layd on for the voiage of Jamaica that I thought it needfull to remove into the George although in regard both of necessary and honourable appointments answerable to the countenance and consequence of the Ship much unfitt to beare the Standart of England. There being very few 4 Rate Frigats but were better gund in the upper and middle Tire then wee. I desire you will be pleased to examine the truth and grounds of these things for indeed they are very enormous and such as make us ashamed to behold. And I believe if his Highness were throughly acquainted with would be offended at them. But enough of that trouble if not accounted to much yet scarce I thinke it so because all the rest of our Fleet are in a bad condicion and not fitt to be kept out to the difficulties and hazard of another winter. Beside there is a great want of men which cannot possibly be recruited here and no

Digitized by Google

provisions for sick and wounded with many other discouragements. But the goodnes of the Lord toward us is never to bee forgotten is far greater than all the discouragements of men notwithstanding the great Tempests of Wind that we have incountred without the Straigtts and within. Wee are all together and behold one anothers Face with comfort. The George and the Unicorn with the store ships are come to us in a seasonable time and God hath vouchsafed such weather that we have got out all very neare nothwithstanding much difficulty which doth usually attend such occasions we being inforced before we can take out our provisions to provide ballast for them. There is but one thing more to trouble you with at present but that which is more a trouble with us that is Cap. Adams brought us before Tetuan a Du(t)ch Vessell come from Domingo and bound to Cadiz with a Quantity of Hides and among other things a Hundred Patachos [1] of Verinas [2] Tobacco which men say here is very good and I would willingly transmitt in safe hands because possibly it may be rare in London. S[r] the indisposition of my body permits mee not to be more tedious and therefore as I began so I desire to end wishing you all health and happines in the Lord remaining

Your most humble Frend and Servant,
ROB. BLAKE.

Abord the George at
Sea of Lagos Bay
the 9th of February 1656 [1656–7].
Endorsed 'From General Blake Feb. 9th. 1656.'

[1] Patacoon (Patachine); a Spanish and Portuguese silver coin of the 17th century, equivalent to 4s. 8d. then.

[2] Varinas or Barinas on the River San Domingo, Venezuela; a famous tobacco district.

Digitized by Google

INSTRUCTIONS

TO

CAPTAIN COOK

FOR HIS THREE VOYAGES

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

WHEN Admiral Wharton produced his edition of Cook's Journal of the first voyage, he lamented in his introduction that the orders were not to be found. Mr. Kitson, whose Life of Cook is the standard work, makes a similar statement. There should have been, however, no difficulty in finding them, for they were duly entered up in the volume in which one would expect to find them, namely, the Secret Orders and Instructions (*P.R.O. Admiralty* 2/1332). The instructions for the first and second voyages have not been printed before, although another copy of them came to light when the collection of the Cook manuscripts belonging to the late Mr. Bolckow was sold in 1923. These manuscripts are, I believe, now all in the possession of the Australian Government. Instructions for the third voyage were printed at the beginning of the account of that voyage which was published in 1784, but they have been included here in order to make the series complete. Orders similar to that of 30th July 1768 directing senior officers not to demand a sight of Cook's instructions were issued for both the later voyages, but it has not been thought necessary to reprint them here.

It will be seen that in the instructions of 1768, Cook is told by the Admiralty to take his longitudes from Greenwich Observatory, but the Astronomer Royal takes his from London (i.e. St. Paul's Cathedral). The earliest instance of the use of the Greenwich meridian that I have found is in 1738, and it was not commonly used until about 1776.

W. G. P.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN COOK FOR HIS THREE VOYAGES

FIRST VOYAGE

H.M.S. Endeavour

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, etc.

Whereas we have, in obedience to the King's commands, caused His Majesty's Bark the Endeavour, whereof you are commander, to be fitted out in a proper manner for receiving such persons as the Royal Society should think fit to appoint to observe the passage of the Planet Venus over the disk of the sun on the 3rd of June 1769 and for conveying them to such place to the southward of the Equinoctial Line as should be judged proper for observing that phenomenon, and whereas the Council of the Royal Society have acquainted us that they have appointed Mr. Charles Green, together with yourself, to be their Observers of the said phenomenon, and have desired that the observation may be made at Port Royal Harbour in King George's Island lately discovered by Capt. Wallis in His Majesty's ship the Dolphin, the place thereof being not only better ascertained than any other within the limits proper for the observation, but also better

Digitized by Google

situated, and in every other respect the most advantageous; you are hereby required and directed to receive the said Mr. Charles Green, with his servant, instruments and baggage, on board the said Bark, and proceed in her, according to the following instructions.

You are to make the best of your way to Plymouth Sound, where we have ordered the crew of the Bark to be paid two months' wages in advance.

When they have received the same you are to put to sea with the first opportunity of wind and weather, and make the best of your way to the Island of Madeira, and there take on board such a quantity of wine as you can conveniently stow for the use of the Bark's company.

Having so done you are to put to sea and proceed round Cape Horn to Port Royal Harbour in King George's Island aforesaid, situated in 17 degrees and 30 minutes of South Latitude, and 150 degrees of Longitude West of the Meridian of the Royal Observatory of Greenwich.

You are at liberty to touch upon the Coast of Brazil, or at Port Egmont in Falkland's Isles, or at both in your way thither, if you find it necessary, for completing your water and procuring refreshments for the Bark's company.

We recommend it to you to stand well to the Southward in your passage round the Cape, in order to make a good Westing, taking care however to fall into the parallel of King George's Island at least 120 leagues to the Eastward of it, and using your best endeavours to arrive there at least a month or six weeks before the 3rd day of June next, that Mr. Green and you may have leisure to adjust and try your instruments before the observation. And for your guidance in entering Port Royal

Digitized by Google

Harbour, as well as for your more general information of the figure and extent of the island itself, you will herewith receive copies of such surveys, plans and views of the island and harbour as were taken by Capt. Wallis, and the officers of the Dolphin, when she was there.

You are to endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a friendship with the natives, presenting them such trifles as may be acceptable to them, exchanging with them for provisions (of which there is great plenty) such of the merchandize you have been directed to provide, as they may value, and shewing them every kind of civility and regard. But as Capt. Wallis has represented the island to be very populous, and the natives (as well there as at the other islands which he visited) to be rather treacherous than otherwise you are to be cautious not to let yourself be surprised by them, but to be constantly on your guard against any accident.

You are at all opportunities when the service upon which you are employed will admit of it, to make such farther surveys and plans and take such views of the island, its harbours and bays as you conceive may be useful to navigation, or necessary to give us a more perfect idea and description than we have hitherto received of it.

But whereas the Council of the Royal Society, although they have named King George's Island, yet, to provide against any accident which may prevent the observers from being landed there, have transmitted to us a table of limits drawn up by the Astronomer Royal, within which some other place that will be proper, may, in that case, be sought for. We have hereunto annexed a copy of the said Table of Limits and in case you shall not be able to effect a landing on King George's

Digitized by Google

Island, require and direct you to search for some other place within those limits where the observation may be made, and to make it there accordingly.

When this service is performed, you are to put to sea without loss of time, and carry into execution the Additional Instructions contained in the enclosed sealed packet.

But in case of your inability to carry these our instructions to you into execution, you are to be careful to leave them, as also the additional instructions above-mentioned, with the next officer in seniority, who is hereby required and directed to execute them in the best manner he can.

Given &c. the 30th of July 1768.

Ed. HAWKE
Pr. BRETT
C. SPENCER

To Lieut. James Cook, Commander
of His Majesty's Bark the
Endeavour, in Galleons Reach.

By &c.
Php. Stephens.

The Astronomer Royal's Limits for the Southern Observation of the Transit of Venus which will happen on the 3rd of June 1769.

Latitude South		Limit of Longitude West of London		
5	from	124	to	187
10	,,	126	,,	185
15	,,	128	,,	183
20	,,	130	,,	181
25	,,	133	,,	178
30	,,	136	,,	175
35	,,	139	,,	172

Digitized by Google

Additional secret instructions to Lieut. James Cook, Commander of His Majesty's Bark the Endeavour.

Whereas the making discoveries of countries hitherto unknown, and the attaining a knowledge of distant parts which though formerly discovered have yet been but imperfectly explored, will redound greatly to the honour of this nation as a Maritime Power, as well as to the dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and may tend greatly to the advancement of the trade and navigation thereof; and whereas there is reason to imagine that a continent, or land of great extent, may be found to the southward of the tract lately made by Capt. Wallis in His Majesty's ship the Dolphin (of which you will herewith receive a copy) or of the tract of any former navigators in pursuits of the like kind; you are therefore in pursuance of His Majesty's pleasure hereby required and directed to put to sea with the bark you command, so soon as the observation of the transit of the planet Venus shall be finished, and observe the following instructions.

You are to proceed to the southward in order to make discovery of the continent above-mentioned until you arrive in the latitude of 40°, unless you sooner fall in with it; but not having discovered it, or any evident signs of it, in that run, you are to proceed in search of it to the westward, between the latitude before mentioned and the latitude of 35° until you discover it or fall in with the Eastern side of the land discovered by Tasman and now called New Zealand.

If you discover the continent above-mentioned, either in your run to the southward, or to the westward, as above directed, you are to employ

Digitized by Google

yourself diligently in exploring as great an extent of the coast as you can; carefully observing the true situation thereof both in latitude and longitude, the variation of the needle, bearings of headlands, height, direction, and course of the tides and currents, depths and soundings of the sea, shoals, rocks, &c., and also surveying and making charts, and taking views of such bays, harbours and parts of the coast as may be useful to navigation.

You are also carefully to observe the nature of the soil and the products thereof, the beasts and fowls that inhabit or frequent it, the fishes that are to be found in the rivers or upon the coast and in what plenty; and in case you find any mines, minerals or valuable stones, you are to bring home specimens of each, as also such specimens of the seeds of the trees, fruits and grains as you may be able to collect, and transmit them to our Secretary, that we may cause proper examination and experiments to be made of them.

You are likewise to observe the genius, temper, disposition and number of the natives, if there be any, and endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them, making them presents of such trifles as they may value, inviting them to traffic, and shewing them every kind of civility and regard, taking care however not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but to be always upon your guard against any accidents.

You are also with the consent of the natives to take possession of convenient situations in the country, in the name of the King of Great Britain; or, if you find the country uninhabited, take possession for His Majesty by setting up proper marks and inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors.

Digitized by Google

But if you should fail of discovering the continent beforementioned, you will, upon falling in with New Zealand, carefully observe the latitude and longitude in which that land is situated, and explore as much of the coast as the condition of the Bark, the health of her crew, and the state of your provisions will admit of, having always great attention to reserve as much of the latter as will enable you to reach some known Port where you may procure a sufficiency to carry you to England, either round the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn, as from circumstances you may judge the most eligible way of returning home.

You will also observe with accuracy the situation of such islands as you may discover in the course of your voyage that have not hitherto been discovered by any Europeans, and take possession for His Majesty and make surveys and draughts of such of them as may appear to be of consequence, without suffering yourself however to be thereby diverted from the object which you are always to have in view, the discovery of the Southern Continent so often mentioned.

But for as much as in an undertaking of this nature, several emergencies may arise not to be foreseen, and therefore not particularly to be provided for by instructions beforehand, you are, in all such cases, to proceed, as upon advice with your officers, you shall judge most advantageous to the service on which you are employed.

You are to send by all proper conveyances to the Secretary of the Royal Society, copies of the observations you shall have made of the transit of Venus, and you are at the same time to send to our Secretary, for our information, accounts of your proceedings, and copies of the surveys and drawings you shall have made. And upon your

Digitized by Google

arrival in England you are immediately to repair to this office in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage, taking care before you leave the vessel to demand from the Officers and Petty Officers the log books and journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection, and enjoining them, and the whole crew not to divulge where they have been until they shall have permission so to do.

Given, etc., the 30th of July 1768.

E^d. HAWKE.
P^y. BRETT.
C. SPENCER.

To Lieut. James Cook,
Com^r. of His Majesty's Bark
the Endeavour.

By, etc.

Whereas we have directed Lieut. James Cook to proceed in His Majesty's Bark the Endeavour upon a particular service, you are hereby required and directed not to demand of him a sight of the Instructions he has received from us for his proceedings on the said service, nor upon any pretence whatever to detain him, but on the contrary to give him any assistance he may stand in need of, towards enabling him to carry the said instructions into execution.

Given, etc., the 30th of July 1768.

E. HAWKE.
P^y. BRETT.
C. SPENCER.

To The Flag Officers, Captains & Commanders
of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels to
whom this shall be exhibited.

By &c.
Ph^p. Stephens.

Digitized by Google

SECOND VOYAGE.

H.M. Ships Resolution and Adventure

Secret Instructions for Capt. Cook, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop Resolution.

By, etc.

Whereas several important discoveries have been made in the Southern Hemisphere in the voyages performed by the Dolphin under the command of Captain Byron, and afterwards under that of Captain Wallis, by the Swallow Sloop under the command of Captain Carteret, and by the Endeavour Bark commanded by yourself; and whereas we have, in pursuance of His Majesty's pleasure signified to us by the Earl of Sandwich, caused the Resolution and Adventure sloops to be fitted out in all respects proper to proceed upon farther discoveries towards the South Pole, and from the experience we have had of your abilities and good conduct in your late voyage, have thought fit to appoint you to command the first mentioned sloop, and to intrust you with the conduct of the present intended voyage, and have directed Capt. Furneaux, who commands the other sloop, to follow your orders for his further proceedings, you are hereby required and directed to proceed with the said two sloops to the Island of Madeira, and there take on board such quantities of wine as may be proper for their respective companies.

Having so done you are to make the best of your way to the Cape of Good Hope, where you are to refresh the sloops companies, and take on board such provisions and necessaries

Digitized by Google

as you may stand in need of, and may be able to procure.

You are if possible to leave the Cape of Good Hope by the end of October or the beginning of November next, and proceeding to the Southward endeavour to fall in with Cape Circumcision,[1] which is said by Mons^r. Bouvet, to lie nearly in the latitude of 54° 00′ South, and in about 11° 20′ of longitude East from Greenwich.

If you discover Cape Circumcision you are to satisfy yourself whether it is a part of that Southern Continent which has so much engaged the attention of Geographers and former Navigators, or part of an Island. If it proves to be the former you are to employ yourself diligently in exploring as great an extent of it as you can, carefully observing the true situation thereof both in latitude and longitude, the variation of the needle, bearings of headlands, height, direction and course of the tides and currents, depths and soundings of the sea, shoals, rocks, etc., and also surveying and making charts and taking views of such bays, harbours and different parts of the coast and making such notations thereon as may be useful either to navigation or commerce. You are also carefully to observe the nature of the soil and the produce thereof, the animals and fowls that inhabit or frequent it, the fishes that are to be found in the rivers or upon the coast, and in what plenty; and in case there are any which are peculiar to that country you are to describe them as minutely and to make as correct drawings of them as you can. If you find any mines, minerals, or valuable stones you are to bring home specimens of each, as also

[1] Bouvet Island, now known to lie in lat. 54° 26′ S., long. 3° 24′ E. The given position is so far out that Cook could not find it.

Digitized by Google

of the seeds of trees, shrubs, plants, fruits and grain peculiar to the country, as you may be able to collect, and to transmit them to our Secretary that we may cause proper examination and experiments to be made of them. You are likewise to observe the genius, temper, disposition and number of the natives or inhabitants, if there be any, and endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them, making them presents of such trinquets as they may value, inviting them to trafick and showing them every kind of civility and regard, but taking care nevertheless not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but to be always upon your guard against any accidents.

You are with the consent of the natives to take possession of convenient situations in the country in the name of the King of Great Britain, and to distribute among the inhabitants some of the medals with which you have been furnished to remain as traces of your having been there. But if you find the country uninhabited you are to take possession of it for His Majesty by setting up proper marks and inscriptions as first Discoverers and Possessors.

When you have performed this service, if the state of your provisions and the conditions of the sloops will admit of it, you are to proceed upon farther discoveries, either to the Eastward or Westward as your situation may then render most eligible, keeping in as high a latitude as you can, and prosecuting your discoveries as near to the South Pole as possible; and you are to employ yourself in this manner so long as the condition of the sloops, the health of their crews, and the state of their provisions will admit of it, having always great attention to the reserving as much of the

Digitized by Google

latter as will enable you to reach some known port where you may procure a sufficiency to carry you to England.

But if Cape Circumcision should prove to be part of an Island only, or if you should not be able to find the said Cape from Mons^r. Bouvet's description of its situation, you are, in the first case, to make the necessary surveys of the Island, and then stand on to the Southward so long as you judge there may be a likelihood of falling in with the Continent, which you are also to do in the latter case, and then proceed to the Eastward in further search of the said Continent, as well as to make discovery of such Islands as may be situated in that unexplored part of the Southern Hemisphere, keeping in as high latitudes as you can and prosecuting your discoveries as before directed as near to the Pole as possible, until by circumnavigating the Globe you fall in again with Cape Circumcision, or the spot where it is said to be situated, from whence you are to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and having there refreshed your people and put the sloops into condition to return to England, you are to repair with them to Spithead where they are to remain till further order.

In the prosecution of these discoveries whenever the season of the year may render it unsafe for you to continue in high latitudes, you are to retire to some known place to the Northward to refresh your people and refit the sloops, taking care to return to the Southward as soon as the season will admit of it.

You are to observe with accuracy the situation of such Islands as you may discover in the course of your voyage, which have not hitherto been discovered by any Europeans, and to make

Digitized by Google

surveys and draughts and take possession for His Majesty of such of them as may appear to be of consequence in the same manner as directed with respect to the Continent.

But for as much as in an undertaking of this nature several emergencies may arise not to be foreseen, and therefore not particularly to be provided for by instructions beforehand, you are, in all such cases, to proceed as you shall judge most advantageous to the service on which you are employed.

You are by all proper conveyances to send to our Secretary, for our information, accounts of your proceedings and copies of the surveys and drawings you shall have made. And upon your arrival in England you are immediately to repair to this office in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage, taking care before you leave the sloop to demand from the Officers and Petty Officers the Log Books and Journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection, and enjoining them and the whole crew not to divulge where they have been until they shall have permission so to do. And you are to direct Capt. Furneaux to do the same with respect to the Officers, Petty Officers and crew of the Adventure.

If any accident should happen to the Resolution in the course of the voyage so as to disable her from proceeding any farther you are, in such case, to remove yourself and her crew into the Adventure, and to prosecute your voyage in her, her Commander being hereby strictly required to receive you on board and to obey your orders the same in every respect as when you were actually on board the Resolution. And in case of your inability by sickness or otherwise to carry these

Digitized by Google

instructions into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next officer in command who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can. Given &c. the 25th of June 1772.

SANDWICH
LISBURNE
A. HERVEY
THOS. BRADSHAW.

By command of their Lordships.
Php. Stephens.

Digitized by Google

THIRD VOYAGE.

H.M. Ships Resolution and Discovery

Secret Instructions for Capt. James Cook, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop the Resolution.

By &c.

Whereas the Earl of Sandwich has signified to us His Majesty's pleasure that an attempt should be made to find out a Northern Passage by sea from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, and whereas we have in pursuance thereof caused His Majesty's sloops Resolution and Discovery to be fitted in all respects proper to proceed upon a voyage for the purpose above mentioned, and from the experience we have had of your abilities and good conduct in your late voyages, have thought fit to intrust you with the conduct of the present intended voyage, and with that view appointed you to command the first mentioned sloop, and directed Capt. Clerke, who commands the other, to follow your orders for his further proceedings; you are hereby required and directed to proceed with the said two sloops directly to the Cape of Good Hope, unless you shall judge it necessary to stop at Madeira, the Cape de Verd, or Canary Islands, to take in wine for the use of their companies, in which case you are at liberty to do so, taking care to remain there no longer than may be necessary for that purpose.

On your arrival at the Cape of Good Hope you are to refresh the sloops' companies, and to cause the sloops to be supplied with as much provisions and water as they can conveniently stow.

You are if possible to leave the Cape of Good Hope by the end of October, or the beginning of

Digitized by Google

November next, and proceed to the Southward in search of some Islands said to have been lately seen by the French in the latitude of 48° 00′ South and about the Meridian of Mauritius. In case you find those Islands you are to examine them thoroughly for a good Harbour, and upon discovering one make the necessary observations to facilitate the finding it again, as a good Port in that situation may hereafter prove very useful, although it should afford little or nothing more than shelter, wood and water. You are not however to spend too much time in looking out for those Islands, or in the examination of them if found, but proceed to Otaheite or the Society Isles (touching at New Zealand in your way thither if you should judge it necessary and convenient) and taking care to arrive there time enough to admit of your giving the sloops companies the refreshment they may stand in need of before you prosecute the farther object of these instructions.

Upon your arrival at Otaheite, or the Society Isles, you are to land Omiah at such of them as he may chuse and to leave him there.

You are to distribute among the Chiefs of those Islands such part of the presents with which you have been supplied as you shall judge proper, reserving the remainder to distribute among the natives of the countries you may discover in the Northern Hemisphere; and having refreshed the people belonging to the sloops under your command, and taken on board such wood and water as they may respectively stand in need of, you are to leave those Islands in the beginning of February, or sooner if you shall judge it necessary and then proceed in as direct a course as you can to the Coast of New Albion, endeavouring to

Digitized by Google

fall in with it in the latitude of 45° 00′ North ; and taking care in your way thither not to lose any time in search of new lands, or to stop at any you may fall in with unless you find it necessary to recruit your wood and water.

You are also, in your way thither, strictly enjoined not to touch upon any part of the Spanish Dominions on the Western Continent of America, unless driven thither by some unavoidable accident, in which case you are to stay no longer there than shall be absolutely necessary, and to be very careful not to give any umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of His Catholic Majesty. And if in your farther progress to the Northward, as hereafter directed, you find any subjects of any European Prince or State upon any part of the coast you may think proper to visit, you are not to disturb them or give them any just cause of offence, but on the contrary to treat them with civility and friendship.

Upon your arrival on the Coast of New Albion you are to put into the first convenient Port to recruit your wood and water and procure refreshments, and then to proceed northward along the coast as far as the latitude of 65°, or farther, if you are not obstructed by lands or ice, taking care not to lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until you get into the before-mentioned latitude of 65°, where we could wish you to arrive in the month of June next. When you get that length you are very carefully to search for and to explore such rivers or inlets as may appear to be of a considerable extent and pointing towards Hudsons or Baffins Bays ; and, if from your own observations, or from any information you may receive from the natives, (who, there is reason to believe, are the same race

Digitized by Google

of people and speak the same language, of which you are furnished with a vocabulary, as the Esquimaux) there shall appear to be a certainty, or even a probability, of a water passage into the aforementioned bays, or either of them, you are, in such case to use your utmost endeavours to pass through with one or both of the sloops, unless you shall be of opinion that the passage may be effected with more certainty, or with greater probability by smaller vessels, in which case you are to set up the frames of one or both the small vessels with which you are provided, and, when they are put together, and are properly fitted, stored and victualled, you are to dispatch one or both of them under the care of proper officers, with a sufficient number of Petty Officers, men and boats, in order to attempt the said passage; with such instructions for their rejoining you, if they should fail, or for their farther proceedings if they should succeed in the attempt, as you shall judge most proper. But nevertheless if you shall find it more eligible to pursue any other measures than those above pointed out, in order to make a discovery of the before mentioned passage (if any such there be) you are at liberty, and we leave it to your discretion, to pursue such measures accordingly.

In case you shall be satisfied that there is no passage through to the above-mentioned bays sufficient for the purposes of navigation you are, at the proper season of the year, to repair to the Port of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtschatka, or wherever else you shall judge more proper in order to refresh your people and pass the winter; and in the Spring of the ensuing year, 1778, to proceed from thence to the Northward as far as, in your prudence, you may think proper in further

Digitized by Google

search of a North East, or North West Passage, from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic Ocean, or the North Sea. And if, from your own observations or any information you may receive, there shall appear to be a probability of such a passage you are to proceed as above directed, and, having discovered such passage, or failed in the attempt, make the best of your way back to England by such route as you may think best for the improvement of Geography and navigation, repairing to Spithead with both sloops, where they are to remain till further orders.

At whatever places you may touch in the course of your voyage where accurate observations of the nature hereafter mentioned have not already been made, you are, as far as your time will allow, very carefully to observe the true situation of such places, both in latitude and longitude, the variation of the needle, bearings of headlands, height, direction and course of the tides and currents, depths of soundings of the sea, shoals, rocks, etc., and also to survey, make charts, and take views of such bays, harbours and different parts of the coast, and to make such notations thereon as may be useful either to navigation or commerce. You are also carefully to observe the nature of the soil and the produce thereof, the animals and fowls that inhabit or frequent it, the fishes that are to be found in the rivers or upon the coast and in what plenty, and, in case there are any peculiar to such places, to describe them as minutely, and to make as accurate drawings of them as you can, and if you find any metals, minerals, or valuable stones, or any extraneous fossils, you are to bring home specimens of each, as also of the seeds of such trees, shrubs, plants, fruits and grains peculiar to those places as you

Digitized by Google

may be able to collect, and to transmit them to our Secretary that proper examination and experiments may be made of them. You are likewise to observe the genius, temper, disposition and number of the natives and inhabitants, where you find any, and to endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a friendship with them, making them presents of such trinkets as you may have on board, and they may like best, inviting them to traffic and shewing them every kind of civility and regard, but taking care nevertheless not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but to be always on your guard against any accidents.

You are also with the consent of the natives to take possession in the name of the King of Great Britain of convenient situations in such countries as you may discover, that have not already been discovered or visited by any other European power, and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces and testimonies of your having been there. But if you find the countries so discovered are uninhabited you are to take possession of them for His Majesty by setting up proper marks and inscriptions as first discoverers and possessors.

But for as much as in undertakings of this nature several emergencies may arise not to be foreseen, and therefore not particularly to be provided for by instructions beforehand, you are, in all such cases, to proceed as you shall judge most advantageous to the service on which you are employed.

You are by all opportunities to send to our Secretary, for our information, accounts of your proceedings and copies of the surveys and drawings you shall have made; and upon your arrival in England you are immediately to repair to this

Digitized by Google

office in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage, taking care before you leave the sloop to demand from the Officers and Petty Officers the Log Books and Journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection, and enjoining them and the whole crew not to divulge where they have been until they shall have permission so to do. And you are to direct Capt. Clerke to do the same with respect to the Officers, Petty Officers and crew of the Discovery.

If any accident should happen to the Resolution in the course of the voyage so as to disable her from proceeding any farther you are, in such case, to remove yourself and her crew into the Discovery and to prosecute your voyage in her, her Commander being strictly required to receive you on board and to obey your orders the same in every respect as when you were actually on board the Resolution; and in case of your inability by sickness or otherwise to carry these instructions into execution, you are to be very careful to leave them with the next officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can.

Given, etc., the 6th day of July, 1776.

SANDWICH.
C. SPENCER.
H. PALLISER.

By command of their Lordships.
Phᵖ· Stephens.
Sent the same day to him at Plymouth by Butler the Messenger at ¼ before 5 o'clock P.M.

29th July, 1776. An attested copy of the above Secret Instructions was this day delivered to Capt. Clerke, of the Discovery Sloop sealed up, with an order of this date, directing him not to

Digitized by Google

open the above pacquet, unless he is not able to join Capt. Cook according to the rendezvous he has left for him.

By, &c.

You will herewith receive a sealed pacquet addressed to yourself containing a copy of our secret instructions to Capt. Cook of the Resolution sloop, which pacquet if you are not able to join Captain Cook according to the rendezvous he has left for you, you are to open and carry into execution to the best of your ability the above mentioned instructions; but in case you shall join Captain Cook you are then to deliver the said pacquet to him unopened.

Given, &c., 29th July, 1776.

SANDWICH.
C. SPENCER.
H. PALLISER.

To Captain Clerke, Commander of
His Majesty's sloop Discovery.
By &c.
Phᵖ. Stephens.

(In red).
Delivered to him the same
day in town.

Digitized by Google

THE BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN, 1807

THE JOURNAL OF SURGEON CHARLES CHAMBERS OF H.M. FIRESHIP PROMETHEUS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

CHARLES CHAMBERS entered the Navy as an Assistant Surgeon in H.M.S. Iris in April 1805. Two years later he was transferred to the Hero, and on promotion to the rank of Surgeon on 9th July 1807, was appointed to the Prometheus. At this point his Journal commences. He remained in Prometheus until 1810, taking a creditable part in the severe boat action in Baro Sound, on 7th July 1809, when the boats of Implacable (Thomas Byam Martin), Bellerophon (Samuel Warren), Melpomene (Peter Parker) and Prometheus (Thomas Forrest) captured or sank seven Russian gunboats and twelve merchantmen under a very severe fire. From 24th February, 1810, until 1814 he was Surgeon of the Princess Caroline. In 1839 he was placed upon the retired list as unfit for further service at sea. He died in 1861. He appears to have been a native of Radway in Warwickshire, and to have owed his introduction into the Navy to Rear-Admiral William Chambers, who was presumably a relative.

The Journal, despite its sometimes pompous and inflated language, is a document of considerable interest for the light it throws upon the life on board ship at the time of the Napoleonic Wars. Its main interest for most readers will be the description of the capture of Copenhagen in 1807. Fortunately it is not my duty to enter into a discussion as to the policy or morality of this action, which was the subject of violent controversy at the time, but I may refer the reader to the following among modern works:

The Cambridge History of Foreign Policy, Vol. I.

The Introduction to Vol. IX of the *Fortescue Manuscripts* (Hist. MSS. Commission).

Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol. VI, and to the Parliamentary Debates of the period.

W. G. P.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A Brief Chronological Journal of remarkable occurrences on board His Majesty's Fireship Prometheus—commencing in July 1807 and terminating in December 1807. Kept by Charles Chambers, Surgeon of the said ship.

Additional MS. 37014.

In compliance with solicitations from those whom consanguinity hath rendered peculiarly dear to me, I am induced to commit to paper solely for their amusement, a brief chronological account of such occurrences as to me may appear worthy of observation, which I purpose to insert diurnally in the form of a Journal. In the subsequent sketch, it is my intention to enumerate those incidents which fall under the article 'News,' a term so comprehensive in itself as scarcely to admit of limitation, which will I trust in some measure apologize for the insertion of many trivial events that although uninteresting to any but myself, still come under the above denomination and consequently claim a place in the following pages, in order to constitute the title I have conferred upon it, viz^t that of 'Chronological Journal'; but whether properly, or not, remains to be determined by those who are more competent to discriminate than myself.

Should anyone expect from the same, to derive much nautical information, his conjectures will prove totally hypothetical from an obvious in-

Digitized by Google

ability on my part to an undertaking of that description.

Having previously recited my motives for entering upon a subject of this nature, I have only now to add that should my design accomplish the end for which it is appropriated, viz^t. that of affording entertainment to my Friends when their leisure hours are not better employed, I shall consider it ample compensation for my trouble, and conscious that those for whom the perusal of the annexed is intended will not criticize on its numerous imperfections I shall conclude this preliminary and commence my narrative.

C. CHAMBERS.
H.M.S. Prometheus.

July, 1807.

Owing to H.M. Ship Hero being paid off at Plymouth in June 1807, I was directed by the Commissioners of Transports, &c., to proceed to the Royal William at Spithead, and from thence to take passage in the first Vessel bound to the West Indies for the purpose of filling up a vacancy in some Ship upon that Station. However, I was by no means disappointed on the 10th of July at the receipt of an appointment as Surgeon to H.M. Fireship Prometheus in Portsmouth Harbour, accompanied with Orders to repair to Haslar Hospital for my warrant. Thither I went without much delay, and was pleased to meet my old friend M^r. Scott, formerly a fellow Student at S^t. Bartholomew's Hospital in London; with him and his party I drank some wine and took tea. The day following I made my appearance on board the Prometheus and found that she was not manned, having only a few harbour duty men on board. This being the case, my attendance

Digitized by Google

was not required; I therefore prevailed on Scott to accompany me to the Royal William to dine and we accordingly went off in the same boat. It blew very fresh, and poor Scott who was not much accustomed to marine aquatic excursions, felt very apprehensive for the safety of himself and boat's crew (which belonged to the Royal William). However we arrived on board without danger.

The next day, being Sunday, I dined by invitation at Haslar with a M^r. Hardy (late House Surgeon at S^t. Bartholomew's, and a most intimate friend of mine), who conducted me through the various departments of that truly magnificent Institution. I spent a most pleasant day, and in the evening retired to Gosport, where I took up my night's abode at the India Arms.

On Monday morning I reappeared on board the Prometheus, but finding no professional duty to attend to, and no Officers' Mess established, I sailed off to the Royal William to take leave of my brother Esculapians there, five in number, three of whom were to have accompanied me to the Leeward Island Station. I fully intended returning on shore the same afternoon, but being very cordially persuaded to spend the evening on board I could not with propriety refuse so gentlemanly and jovial a set of fellows, and consequently acquiesced, and took a final farewell of them on Tuesday morning, when I departed with my goods and chattels and steered towards the Prometheus.

On the Wednesday I again called at Haslar Hospital to give directions relative to a supply of medicines and stores, which I was requested to wait for till a fresh cargo arrived from Town, of which they were in daily expectation. From this day till Saturday nothing particular transpired,

Digitized by Google

when we received a sudden and unexpected Order to prepare for sea with all possible expedition, and had a draught of men from the Uranie frigate. It now became incumbent on me to repeat my application at Haslar for the medicines which, owing to the emergency of the case, I took off on Sunday afternoon. However we were detained by the Court Martial on Captain La Rouche[1] of the above Frigate, the presence of our men, as evidences, being indispensable on the occasion. We did not therefore leave Portsmouth till the succeeding Wednesday, August[2] 22nd, on which day we made sail for the Downs.

During our passage thither, we experienced some rough weather and arrived on Saturday, 25th. The same morning, our Purser's Steward was punished with two dozen lashes, for negligently leaving a candle burning in his room in the cockpit. This was the first punishment ever inflicted by Captain Parker, since his promotion to that rank. We did not remain long in the Downs, but proceeded to the Nore, in order to take in our combustibles and get our fireroom properly arranged, which was conducted by two men sent purposely from Woolwich warren,[3] and superintended by a Captain Bingham of the Royal Artillery. The invention certainly claims no inconsiderable share of ingenuity, and the inflammable materials are so constructed that in less than 5 minutes after the application of a lighted match to certain *apparently* insignificant points, the whole ship would be involved in a complete blaze. The novelty of the process naturally ex-

[1] Christopher Laroche: a charge of cowardice was partly proved; *vide The Royal Navy*, v. 399.

[2] A mistake for July.

[3] Now the Royal Arsenal.

Digitized by Google

cited in me a propensity to attain some little knowledge relative to the composition and nature of such *infernal* machinery (for no other appellation can I bestow on such truly destructive and *hellish* apparatus). I therefore entered into conversation with one of the men employed in the business, whom I found rather intelligent, to gain what information I could upon the subject, which he took tolerable pains to explain to me. From him I learnt that the combustibles were chiefly composed of sulphur, nitre, charcoal, &c., placed in barrels in the fireroom; independent of which are several casks of charcoal and tar, which would take fire nearly simultaneously with the above, and add largely to the general conflagration. The method of igniting the whole is by means of portfire, which is required to be touched at four different sockets, and is thus communicated through the medium of what is termed the main leader or train to the different ramifications which convey it to the numerous partitions allotted in the fireroom for the receptacle of the combustibles. No explosion takes place. On the contrary it is requisite to throw overboard all the gunpowder on the ship, previous to the time of setting fire to her, as otherwise it would counteract the design by extinguishing and dispersing the fire. Grappling irons are affixed to the yard arms, and other convenient parts of the vessel, to entangle and confine her to the ship or ships intended to be burnt. By way of elucidating this important concern, a barrel of combustibles was let off on the beach at Sheerness, and the regular process attended to, as if employed on actual service afloat. Unluckily, my professional avocation prevented my being a spectator, but I am told by our officers who saw

Digitized by Google

it, that it had a very pleasing and grand effect; could the experiment have been made by night, it would doubtless have much surprised the inhabitants, but at the same time might have created confusion and alarm amongst our shipping, so was therefore prudently declined.

July 28. A man whose name is Thoˢ. Carrol met with an unpleasant accident, occasioned by his hand being severely crushed between two casks in the hold; one finger suffered so materially as to require immediate amputation. A similar operation I performed in the Hero from the same circumstance.

29th. An order was received to take on board the Prometheus, Sir Arthur Wellesley and Suite to join the Expedition up the Baltic.

30th. The ship being under sailing orders, I deemed it expedient to convey the man alluded to above to the Hospital, being rendered incapable of doing any duty for a considerable period. I also issued him a smart ticket,[1] by way of compensating in some measure for the loss of his finger. Part of the afternoon was occupied at Sheerness in purchasing with the Purser some articles for our mess.

31st. At 10 A.M. General Sir Arthur Wellesley, his two Aid de Camps, vizᵗ. Captⁿ. Campbell,[2] and the Honᵇˡᵉ. Captain Stanhope,[3] with their servants, made their appearance, and we got under weigh from the Nore.

August 1st. A very wet day. Made our signal as we passed Lowestoffe, but did not put into Yarmouth. At 5 P.M. a man fell from the

[1] A certificate of injury that would entitle him to a gratuity from the Greenwich Chest.

[2] Subsequently General Sir Colin Campbell.

[3] Hon. Fitzroy H. R. Stanhope.

Digitized by Google

mizen topsail yard and was very severely hurt; on the occurrence of the accident he was supposed by those present to have been killed on the spot, but miraculously did not sustain any fracture whatever, as he alighted on the Quarter-deck. The concussion to the whole system must have been very considerable and it will be a work of time to effect a recovery. Of course, I instantly bled him, &c., &c.

2nd. Nothing demanding any particular attention occurred. I was pleased to find the Prometheus sailed remarkably well, as she went upwards of 10 knots an hour with apparent facility, and would no doubt exceed that number under favourable and emergent circumstances. Wind and weather fair for Copenhagen. I cannot help regretting that a fine new ship like the Prometheus should be doomed to be burnt, should an advantageous opportunity present itself. Her accommodations in many respects are equivalent to several of our Frigates, and she has more than once been mistaken for a vessel of that denomination. She carries 14 eighteen-pounder Carronades and 2 long Nines, and in case of demolishing the fire-room is nearly capable of mounting nearly double that number.

Being now attached to one of the most extensive Expeditions that ever sailed from Great Britain, it may not altogether be deemed uninteresting to enumerate the names and rates of the various ships composing it, which are as follows:

Line of battle ships: Spencer, 74; Vanguard, 74; Maida, 74; Brunswick, 74; Ganges, 74; Minotaur, 74; Resolution, 74; Ruby, 64; Valiant, 74; Dictator, 74; Pompée, 80; Mars, 74; Hercule, 74; Orion, 74; Defence, 74;

Digitized by Google

Alfred, 74; Goliath, 74; Captain, 74; Nassau, 74; Prince of Wales, 98; Agamemnon, 64; Centaur, 74.

Frigates: Cambrian, Leda, Africaine, Hussar, Franchise, Surveillante, Solebay, Astrea, Sybille, Nymph, Cossack, Comus.

Fireships, Sloops, and Brigs: Cyane, Banterer, Leveret, Railleur, Alert, Sappho, Musquito, Thunder, Goshawke, Valorous, Alacrity, Bellette, Wanderer, Bonetta, Lightning, Vesuvius, Orestes, Combatant, Zebra, Prometheus, Tartarus, Pandora, Rosamond, Fury, Forward, Basilisk, Gallant, Mynx, Desperate, Flamer, Fearless, Mariner, Safeguard, Intelligent, Tygress, Pincher, Indignant, Arran, Urgent, Turbulent, Acute, Richmond, Cruizer, Sicily, Alcyon, Procris.

Exclusive of the above, there are an immense number of Transports for the conveyance of our Troops, ammunition, &c. As I may frequently have to advert to different ships employed in this particular service, a reference to page 12 or 13 [i.e. the above list] may suffice, without my repeating the rate, or size of such ships individually in the subsequent part of this Journal.

August 4th. Punished a man by the name of Peters with three dozen lashes for remaining below in his watch. In the afternoon, purchased some fish of a Swedish fishing boat in the Cattegat.

August 5th. Dined with the gentlemen in the Midshipmen's berth on some excellent cod-fish, &c. About 6 o'clock this morning a firing was heard at some considerable distance from the ship, the cause of which is unknown. At 5 P.M. upwards of 50 sail of transports passed us on the return from Elsineur, whither they had been to carry

Digitized by Google

troops. In the evening saw two lighthouses on the Danish shore.

6th. Came to an anchor nearly opposite Elsineur Castle at 1 A.M. This edifice ought not to be tacitly passed over, as it is a building which, from its situation close to the water's edge, appears very conspicuous. It is doubtless very ancient, and in structure resembles one of the colleges in Oxford; it is built in a quadrangular form, but cannot boast of much uniformity. From its centre arises a lofty spire, the architecture of which is well designed, and on the summit is represented, by way of a weathercock, a man on horse-back in full gallop with a defensive weapon in his hand. Upon the whole, this part of the gothic pile is not very dissimilar to the beautiful spire of S^t. Bride's, London. Exclusive of the one described, there are three other turrets erected at the corners of the castle, one of which is converted to the use of a lighthouse, as I saw it, whilst looking towards the close of day, in the act of being illuminated. That range of the building contiguous to the sea is surrounded by a number of guns, and I also observed six mortars on one side, which would render the place rather formidable to oppose. Lord Nelson's fleet in April 1802 [1] suffered considerable annoyance from this battery in passing it on their way to Copenhagen. To those fond of picturesque scenery, the country adjacent to Elsineur affords a gratifying sight at this season of the year, being very woody, somewhat hilly, and pleasantly interspersed with a variety of objects grateful to the eye, as village churches, &c.

This afternoon, Sir Home Popham, Captain

[1] The date was of course 1801, but he has made this mistake throughout.

Digitized by Google

of the Fleet in the present expedition, came on board the Prometheus to invite Sir Arthur Wellesley to dinner in the Prince of Wales 98, Admiral Gambier's flagship, which invitation he accepted, and presented me with an opportunity of forwarding a letter to my friend M^r. Murphy, Surgeon of the last-mentioned ship, and late of the Hero. Weather very fine and warm.

Our fleet now here consists of several sail of the line, besides frigates and small craft, together with about 20,000 troops. At 9 the evening gun was fired and answered, according to the naval custom, the same as if in a British port; and at the same hour, I was pleased to hear the curfew bell ring on shore at Elsineur Church. The boats of the Fleet are regularly sent for beef, &c., without any molestation from the Danes, which may be policy in them.

August 7th. Received a very friendly answer to my letter sent M^r. Murphy, congratulating me on my promotion.

At 10 A.M. Admiral Gambier and Sir Home Popham came alongside in a boat to pay their respects to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who unfortunately with his Aid de Camps and Captain Parker had gone on shore about half an hour before, consequently these distinguished personages departed and left their message.

Shortly a Transport Vessel N^o. 196 passed us, playing my favourite air the Lorette; she was much crowded with artillery men belonging to the Expedition, and had a large gun over her bow.

At 12 the Hon^ble. Captains Stopford and Paget made their appearance alongside on a similar occasion with the officers stated above, and retired on the same principles. At 3 P.M., a signal was made for an opportunity of transmitting letters

Digitized by Google

to England which I took the advantage of and forwarded one to my brothers in town. Sir Arthur Wellesley, his Aid de Camps, and Captain Parker dined with Admiral Gambier in the Prince of Wales. About 50 more sail of transports arrived with troops, &c., for the Expedition. In consequence of our martial appearance in Elsineur Roads, the Danes have become somewhat apprehensive on their own accounts, and I understand those capable of bearing arms have been trained for the same cause. At present there are various opinions respecting the destination and intention of so large an Expedition, however, Copenhagen seems the prevailing one; still, all must be hypothetical, owing to its having been conducted in that mysterious and secret manner which reflects much credit to our Ministers for so doing.

August 8. Sir Sam[l]. Hood, Colonel Stopford and some others came on board the Prometheus to visit Sir Arthur Wellesley and Captain Parker. Two of our best seamen deserted at Elsineur from the boat to which they belonged. Wishing to make a Danish purchase, I bought a brooch for 10s. 6d., at the above place.

A reinforcement of about 50 more transports joined the Expedition. In the evening we had a most violent squall of wind, and some of the most vivid and awful lightning I ever beheld (equally tremendous with that experienced on the memorable night of rejoicing for Peace, in London) which at every flash illuminated the hemisphere and presented to the eye one of the most brilliant scenes imagination can conceive, viz[t]. our Fleet and Transports, consisting of 300 sail, riding at anchor in the Roads, and Elsineur Castle on shore. I walked the deck nearly the first watch to enjoy the sight.

Digitized by Google

9th. Being Sunday the Articles of war were read to the Ship's Company, and a man threatened with flagellation for appearing undressed.[1] The boat went on shore in search of the men who deserted yesterday, but their endeavours to find them proved fruitless. The officers from the Prometheus employed on that service, saw four military officers disguised in sailors' uniforms; however through some mishap they were sent under confinement to Elsineur Castle: possibly their deportment did not altogether correspond with their attire, and so led to a discovery.

At 2 P.M. Sir Arthur Wellesley and suite took leave of the Prometheus and repaired to the Goliath; some degree of reluctance was evidently visible on their departure, which I believe was mutual between Captain Parker and themselves. From the inference I am able to draw from the short time I have been in company with them I conceive that they are pleasant gentlemanly characters. Captain Parker dined with them in the Goliath. Owing to the serenity and fineness of the night after so much lightning last evening, I was induced to remain on deck till 11 o'clock.

10th August. Our men are now employed in painting the ship. Several line-of-battle ships exercising small arms, to train the sailors in the use of those weapons. The Admiral, considering our situation too near the Castle, should they feel disposed to open a fire upon us, ordered us to weigh anchor and remove nearer the Prince of Wales, his own ship, which we accordingly did. There are now two other Fire-ships in the Fleet besides the Prometheus, viz[t]. the Tartarus and Lightning, both of which I saw at Plymouth.

[1] Emended to 'slovenly dressed'; there was of course no regular uniform at this time for the seamen.

Digitized by Google

This afternoon two men who were scraping the bows of the Ship preparatory to painting, fell overboard from the port-rope, which suspended the plank they were standing on, being carried away; one caught a rope in the water and rescued himself; the other must inevitably have been drowned had not Lieutenant Setford plunged in and thereby saved his life. I have witnessed many similar accidents in the Navy, one of which only terminated fatally, and that occurred at night when timely assistance could not be procured. Most ships have a life buoy which, when an alarm be given, is immediately thrown to the person requiring its aid.

August 11th. Two Artillery officers went yesterday in the Safeguard brig for the purpose of surveying the Danish coast, and determining upon an eligible spot for landing the Troops; the part fixed on was, I understand, in the vicinity of Copenhagen.

We this day experienced more inclement weather than on any preceding day since our departure from England; it blew extremely fresh and was accompanied with frequent showers of rain which confined me below the major part of the day. Played a game of whist in the evening.

12th. Was called up at 4 this morning to see a sick man. Lord Cathcart joined us from the Belt and was saluted with 17 guns; not being on deck at the commencement of the salutation, it struck me, as well as others, that the Danes becoming turbulent had opened a fire at us from the Castle, a circumstance that would not have created any great astonishment. Punished three men with two dozen lashes each for neglect of duty.

Dined with the Captain; and I may here

Digitized by Google

remark, that it is the custom in the Navy for the Officers to take dinner with him alternately, consequently our number in the Gun-room consisting of four only causes a quick rotation. On Sundays the Captain returns the compliment by dining with us.

13th. Being a perfect calm and a very warm day, all the ships in the Fleet have had their sails unfurled to dry them, which owing to the magnitude of the squadron afforded no paltry exhibition. Accompanied Lieutenant Setford round the Prometheus in the jolly boat, to observe how she was improved after painting. Saw the spires of Copenhagen overland with, and without, the assistance of a glass. I counted five in number; they reminded me of brave Nelson's glorious action there.

At 6 P.M. heard a heavy firing, supposed to be near Copenhagen. Signal made by the Admiral for the prohibition of any boats going on shore, which gave rise to a supposition that hostilities were on the eve of commencing with the Danes. Received a supply of fresh beef, which in size is very diminutive, weighing only about 40 lbs. per quarter; with regard to quality, a considerable deviation from the true English was evident. The only Danish frigate here decamped early this morning, and on being missed the Comus was dispatched after her; the Defence was also sent after a line-of-battle ship at the same time.

At 9 P.M. the bands of the vessels around us played several martial and applicable tunes, but being stowed so very thick, produced considerable discord.

14th. At 4 A.M. was called up to visit Lieutenant Setford who was indisposed. Another firing was heard at 5 and repeated at ½ past 7 this

Digitized by Google

morning in the same direction as that noticed yesterday. Signal made for Sir Arthur Wellesley's Brigade to get under weigh and proceed towards Copenhagen; all ships ordered to unmoor. General signal to ascertain the number of boarding pikes each ship is possessed of. Went on board the Prince of Wales to see M^r. Murphy, with whom I drank tea. I there found an Order for me to land with the Naval Brigade, and to have my instruments in readiness accordingly; for this I may thank M^r. Murphy, as he recommended me to Admiral Gambier for that purpose. There is only one other Surgeon besides myself and one Assistant, to attend on 3,000 Sailors and Marines. A salute was fired in the afternoon to a Russian frigate.

15th. General signal for all ships to get under weigh and proceed towards Copenhagen; this made me rather busy in arranging my instruments and necessaries for landing. Saw many signals flying on Elsineur Castle, where much consternation evidently prevailed on the movement of so large a fleet towards their capital. At 2 P.M. Copenhagen spires very visible; wind moderately favourable; the Prometheus outsails the Fleet. Brought up at 5, about 6 or 7 miles from Copenhagen, as did the Fleet and Transports.

16th. At 2 this morning, the Troops began to land, which occupied all the forenoon. They made a very grand appearance on the beach, and an appropriate spot being selected, of course met with no opposition from batteries, &c. This portion of the Country is one of the finest I ever beheld, and considerably surpasses in rusticity that already described in the neighbourhood of Elsineur; the woods have a great similitude to those of Radway in Warwickshire, but are more extensive, and there are some celestial cottages

Digitized by Google

situated in various parts of them. I felt for the disconsolate inhabitants on the disembarkation of the Troops, many of whom I afterwards saw marching over the hills, and in the heat of the day sitting down under the shade of the trees in a state of tranquility that could scarcely be expected, when reflecting on the serious and awful purport of their errand.

Signal made for sending letters to England which I attended to, and wrote to my brothers in town telling them I thought ere long the Tower Guns might announce to our Metropolis the surrender of Copenhagen. At 4 this afternoon a flag of truce was sent out to the Admiral, which cast a gloom over the countenance of the Promethians to *my* knowledge, and there is reason to suppose the disappointment general to the Navy and Army pertaining to the Expedition, on the idea that it might tend to a pacific termination of this important business, after so much trouble and anxiety. Came to an anchor in the evening in four fathom water, about three miles from the city of Copenhagen.

17th. Early this morning a firing of shells commenced from the batteries of the town, but I am in hopes did not damage any of our shipping; it was continued the whole forenoon. Many gun-boats were sent out by the Danes, some of which contrived to set fire to an English merchant ship to prevent her from falling into our hands. She has been burning these 2 hours and is now apparently reduced to the water's edge. The sight was quite novel to me and would be peculiarly gratifying by night; the smoke issued from her in immense columns. A party of boats were dispatched after the Danish ones, which made them retreat under their batteries. Many more of the

Digitized by Google

troops were disembarked this day, chiefly consisting, I understand, of the German Legion. We have now a fine prospect of Copenhagen aided by an uncommon clear atmosphere. The Cambrian frigate fired many guns at the enemy's boats, and made the signal for assistance which was complied with by sending several armed boats, amongst which was a cutter belonging to the Prometheus. Punished Peters, whose name has already been inserted on a similar occasion I am sorry to say, with three dozen lashes, for attempting a defraud, to obtain more than his regular allowance of provisions. Saw the flag of truce repeated; the Admiral sent a boat to meet it, but whether to assist her by towing her along, or to cut off communication with his own ship, I am at a loss to determine. Have not as yet heard the result of that of yesterday, but feel very solicitous. Our troops appear to have made tolerable progress already on shore, having arrived within two or three miles of the city, notwithstanding their disembarkation took place at a considerable distance from it. A body of Highlanders landed first and are, I believe, to commence the attack. It is universally remarked that so fine a set of military men never left Great Britain; I hope they will be rewarded for the hardships and inconveniences they will now probably undergo.

Whilst drinking our wine after dinner, an alarm was given that the troops were engaging the enemy on shore. We instantly repaired on deck and wanted no other corroboration of the fact, being convinced by ocular demonstration, as well as auricular, if I may use the term, for the report of the guns was very distinctly heard. Our soldiers supported the fire in a very spirited manner and appeared to be gaining advantage,

Digitized by Google

causing the Danes to make a rapid retreat towards their city. The horses belonging to the cavalry were seen to drop on being wounded, and we had reason to suppose considerable carnage must have taken place, as the action continued about three hours and [a] half. Latterly it became very difficult to discern their manœuvres in consequence of the smoke.

Let it now be supposed the Navy did not remain merely as indolent spectators, for all the smaller ships that could get sufficiently close in for their guns to bear, were on the alert, and the battle about 6 P.M. became general. An immense number of shells were discharged from their batteries, which fell around us in all directions, and their gunboats behaved remarkably brave and annoyed us extremely. I never experienced so grand an afternoon in my life. Our own ships in conjunction with their batteries and boats kept up a continual fire and constituted with very little intermission a perpetual detonation till half past 9, when the dusk of the evening rendered it necessary to cease firing. I indulged myself with the magnificent scenery till about half an hour prior to the conclusion of the action, when our situation becoming more critical and warm, I found it a professional duty to retire below to make preparations for those who might chance to be wounded; though the fortunes of war, contrary to our expectations, favoured us and we had no man hurt. We then came to an anchor, as we supposed, out of reach of their guns from the batteries, but were quickly under the necessity of weighing again, as the shells, &c., far outranged us. It should be observed that during the crisis the Prometheus was engaging the enemy, she laboured under a twofold disadvantage, owing to her con-

Digitized by Google

struction as a fireship, for had a shell fallen into our fireroom, it must to a certainty have sent us to perdition; or we must have shared the same destruction had any accident occurred with the powder in firing our own guns.

It is now past 11 o'clock at night, and the ship set on fire this morning is still burning and makes a very brilliant appearance, being considerably nearer than in the morn, and it is obvious to all that fire is far more conspicuous by night than day, which renders the present sight sublime beyond description. For the night, we are anchored closer to the enemy than any other ship here, and from the intrepidity of their gunboats this day, it is thought they may recommence the attack during the night; should that prove the case, I trust they will meet their deserts. Another flag of truce made its appearance shortly after the firing had discontinued, and the Prometheus being, as I have already stated, the nearest ship, came alongside her, but was sent by Captain Parker to Admiral Gambier, for the execution of his mission. Soon after the troops had commenced the engagement, Captain Parker's dinner was placed on the table, at the usual hour of 4; but owing to the general bustle, he could not partake of it before 10. In the heat of the action one of our sailors made a shrewd observation on seeing a windmill at work in the suburbs of Copenhagen, contiguous to a battery that was warmly employed. Rapping out no trifling oath, says he, 'The Old Miller does not seem to enter into the sport that's going on; as he keeps grinding away in spite of the Devil.' From the spirited and resolute conduct of the Danes this day, we may promise ourselves much entertainment in the gunpowder and exploding line.

Digitized by Google

18th. We experienced no annoyance during the night, but at 9 A.M. the batteries repeated their diversion by a discharge of shells, &c., and were joined by the gunboats. We stood our ground till a shell burst within 2 or 3 yards of us, and forced us to shift our berth; not a gun from the Prometheus would reach them, therefore 'twas deemed absurd to present ourselves as a mark to be shot at, without being able to return the compliment, especially with our combustibles on board. The ship noticed yesterday burnt till 4 this morning and then disappeared.

Hitherto, I can venture to assert that my statements have been drawn with tolerable accuracy, the whole of them having been deduced from my own observation; but should any of our men get wounded, or my attendance be required elsewhere, it must naturally be productive of an inability to continue my diurnal recapitulations, in which event I must refer to my memory (which is rather a treacherous one) for the insertion of past occurrences. I have seized every opportunity of journalizing, as far as relates to anecdotes, or whatever might be considered under that comprehensive article 'News,' and deem the present the most interesting part of my narrative, as I hope soon to be enabled to scribble a description of the memorable Battle of Copenhagen, whose fate is now impending and must ere long be decided.

The hissing of the shells and shots in the air far exceeds what I could have imagined, and when I beheld that shell approaching, which fell so near us, I agreed with all present that it must have struck the ship. These *death-warrants* afford a grand effect by night.

Have just received information that the Comus came up with and captured the Danish frigate

Digitized by Google

aforementioned, after killing 14; the former ship I hear, had none killed. The prize, it is said, is sent into England. The hands are now turned up the second time this morning to heave up the anchor, and stand further out, being still too much exposed to the enemy's batteries; they appear determined on defending the city to the last. Our army, I am disposed to think, are gaining advantage on shore; some gunboats, which attempted to molest them this morning, were repulsed after a long opposition. The flags of truce already received, were to request leave for the departure of some Princesses from the town, which I presume was granted. Observed the soldiers had thrown up an entrenchment near a windmill, and kept a well supported and directed fire from it, both at the Danish troops and gunboats.

At 6, during the time of drinking wine with the Captain after dinner, saw a tremendous heavy firing at some of our boats which had gone rather too far in. The report of the guns was so audible as to cause a degree of perturbation in the glasses on the table. The rumour respecting the Danish frigate being sent to England has proved erroneous, she having arrived in the Fleet here. Weather excessively sultry and fine.

19th. Admiral Gambier this day transmitted a flag of truce to the city, offering them the privilege of receiving the men wounded in the frigate, to the number of 26, into their hospital for cure, which offer was accepted, and the business transacted accordingly by another flag of truce. A Russian ship of war came into the fleet. Cavalry busily employed in drawing their artillery and implements of war towards the city. Signal for all launches and cutters to assemble

Digitized by Google

round the Goliath at 9 o'clock this evening, well armed, in order, I believe to row guard during the night, to keep a good look out on the enemy lest they should surprise us when not prepared. The forts and floating batteries, &c., repeated their accustomed exercise of discharging shells and shots as yesterday, but have not discouraged our brave Tars whatever ; the gunboats having been so much cut up, did not make an attack upon our military to-day. Notwithstanding, they did us all the mischief in their power, humanity forced me to sympathize with their feelings, to see the poor wretches so roughly handled, especially when I relate with horror that one of their own ships, on perceiving their boats retreating through absolute necessity, actually fired a gun at them loaded with grape shot ; but as they could withstand us no longer, they went in. This fact, which I witnessed myself, taught us to suppose they were fully determined to exert themselves to the last.

In the evening, the batteries being tolerably silent, I took an opportunity of refreshing myself with a bathe alongside, and was surprised at finding the water very little impregnated with salt, which I am told is attributable to a certain current which sometimes sets in.

20th. Was called up at 4 this morning to observe an extreme brisk firing between our troops on shore and the enemy, which became general as before, with the ships that could engage them, and continued well supported till 6 ; when our arms meeting with their former success everything became silent for a time. One of our Bombs that ran in closer than the rest, threw two shells into the town, at which time a signal was made to discontinue the action. The morning

Digitized by Google

was unusually serene and beautiful, hence the city with its gilded spires, was seen to great perfection, before the inhabitants had kindled their daily fires and involved them in smoke. At 12 we discovered another ship on fire. I suppose under similar circumstances with that alluded to before, tho' I have heard no further particulars respecting the first. Conformable to a frequent practice in the Navy, I this morning amused myself with my mess mates in *aerial castle building*, on a supposition that we took Copenhagen and the shipping, thereby entitling us to a certain share of prize money. In the evening, I was indulged with a repetition of the same grand sight a few days ago, from the ship set on fire this morning.

General Berthier, it is reported, has arrived at Copenhagen and promises the Danes great support; his skill in military tactics is too well known to require any comment here. I do not myself vouch for the correctness of the above fact; can only say it is currently talked of. Our boats row guard every night and are quite on the alert, which is a proper precaution.

I had not retired to rest more than an hour, before I was awoke by the report of guns, and immediately slipped on my great-coat (which I keep at hand for the purpose) and went on deck, where I found it was occasioned by one of our Bombs throwing shells towards the city which, from the darkness of the night, had a grand effect in the air. A skirmish took place between the troops at the same time, but did not last long. In the action early this morning, a lieutenant in the Army was killed, and a Captain lost his arm. We could see the Danes running very fast from our soldiers, tho' it appears some of them were not sufficiently active to avoid being taken

Digitized by Google

prisoners. I am also informed a few baggage waggons fell into our hands. A signal being made for letters, I sent the one I penned a day or two back, to my brothers, as an opportunity of conveyance on that day proved a false alarm.

21st. Orders were sent to the Prometheus from the Admiral's ship, specifying that it is the opinion of Sir Home Popham that the enemy intend teasing us with fireships; consequently we are strictly directed to keep a constant watch, and be in continual readiness to evade them, and to have fire-booms at hand to ward them off. Should an enemy's Prometheus run foul of our own, the consequences must naturally be dreadful, insomuch that exhortations or injunctions to the British Prometheans on that subject seem almost superfluous, though of course much caution is requisite for the safety of the Fleet.

At 1 P.M. the Agamemnon joined the Squadron, and unluckily got aground, in which uncomfortable situation she remained some hours. Received on board the Prometheus several pyrotechnic rockets, such as were employed off Boulogne; to me they appeared tolerably well calculated for the use designed, which is that of setting fire to anything on which they may chance to alight; they are tapered to a sharp point at one extremity, which is made of iron, and should they fall on any penetrable body, must remain stationary to emit their inflammable contents. They did not much execution at Boulogne; the object there was to destroy the Flotilla: here, it is the city of Copenhagen, so that I hope a different effect may be the result.

As the afternoon was very inviting for a sail in the boat, I accompanied my brother officers in that vehicle for the space of half an hour; during

Digitized by Google

our cruize a shell was fired from the batteries at some of our vessels, though on the whole the cannonading has not been so brisk to-day as usual, but both parties are very assiduous in making; *we* in fitting out our flat-bottomed boats with mortars &c.; *they* in erecting new batteries, which example our army are following by way of keeping time with the enemy.

22nd. It having been intimated to Captain Parker that Sir Arthur Wellesley was getting short of provisions, he very liberally sent him some wine, hams, &c., on shore for his use. An order has been given by Admiral Gambier to fit out a small captured Danish sloop as a fire-ship, to send in to destroy their floating battery should an opportunity avail, the entire superintendance of which is entrusted to Captain Parker, who is to have the management of her when she is burnt. As she is rigged out with part of the Prometheus's combustibles, we have denominated her the Young Prometheus. A poor dog was found in her, which unluckily fell overboard, and with much difficulty I saved its life by employing a man who had much trouble to haul it in; the sensible animal evinced its gratitude by a peculiar attachment and brought to my [mind] a similar occurrence which took place whilst I was attending St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, where I fed and took care of a nice little faithful creature some weeks, not being able to discover its owner. No guns were fired by the Danes till 11 P.M., when, as I was walking the deck to admire the lightning, I observed a few.

23rd. Sunday morning at 10 o'clock a firing commenced and proved far more tremendous than any yet experienced; the enemy began, and in less than 10 minutes it became general with the

Digitized by Google

navies and armies. More grandeur and magnificence could not possibly be displayed: the elements appeared at war with each other, and the incessant roaring of guns, mortars, &c., resembled, as I have before hinted, an unremitted peal of thunder, the repeated echo of which baffles all description. I wish it to be understood the Prometheus this day was only a spectator, as from her late dangerous situation, the Admiral would not allow a second unnecessary exposure to shells, &c. I therefore from our quarter-deck beheld, in cool blood, the desperate proceedings of each party. From the windmill Battery, lately erected by our soldiers, they fired red-hot shot, the distinct hissing of which through the air was awful indeed. Our mortar-boats sallied forth to lend their assistance, but were shortly obliged to return, being unable to cope with the enemy's heavy metal, especially of Copenhagen Crown Battery, the most formidable one of all. I saw several of our shells burst over the city and blockships, and two fell apparently very near one of the large spires. We could plainly perceive where the shot and shells dropped on both sides; those which fell in the water produced an extraordinary splashing, and those on shore raised immense clouds of dust; the chief of them appeared very well directed. A gun-brig that behaved particularly gallantly, I was sorry to see under the necessity of being towed out with boats. Some of M^r. Congreve's pyrotechnic rockets were let off at the town, though it was generally supposed the distance too great for them to do execution. I saw two stick in the beach which burnt a considerable time. Including the standard of wood to which they are attached the same as common rockets, the weight of each is 32 lb.;

Digitized by Google

they make a most curious noise as they traverse the atmosphere, by far more audible than the hissing of shells or red-hot shot.

The action continued till 4 in the afternoon, when the firing of each party ceased, as if reciprocally; however, wishing to act as an impartial umpire, I must confess our ships appeared unable to maintain the contest longer, and I fear sustained no inconsiderable injury. The Cutter from which the rockets were discharged, was repulsed in a very short time. Congreve was not in her himself, which some attributed to *sagacity* on *his* part.

In the afternoon, a stag was conveyed past the Prometheus in a boat, which I presume was taken from some park on shore and sent as a present by the military officers to Admiral Gambier. One or two line of battle ships had just began divine service previous to the commencement of the engagement, and were broke off by an abrupt conclusion. The water here is so shallow as to render it very perilous for ships of the line to go close in, so that none of them have as yet had any share in the different actions; however, our boats have been employed several days in sounding and laid down buoys in various parts to shew the depth, therefore when the grand attack on the city is made, I imagine they will go in to engage the batteries. It must be well recollected that in Nelson's glorious Battle here in April 1802 several of the ships were aground, which produced unpleasant consequences. Two of my present messmates (the First Lieutenant and Master) were in it, the former had a brother killed in the same ship with himself, viz. the Bellona, 74. How would my brothers, who are equally fond with myself of pyrotechnic exhibitions, explosives, &c., have been gratified with the noble scenery of this day.

Digitized by Google

24th. During the night everything remained in a state of perfect tranquillity, and not a gun was fired. Signal made for our ships to send in a return of killed and wounded, no further particulars of which have yet reached me than that Lieutenant Woodford of the Cruizer was amongst the former. Weather showery and wet. Am much astonished to find that after so long and heavy a firing we had only 10 killed and 11 wounded in the Navy. The loss sustained by our military has not yet been ascertained. Captain Parker has kindly proffered me the loan of any of his books, and particularly recommended to my perusal those entitled the 'Hospital of Wit' in 5 volumes; they chiefly consist of poetical pieces on various subjects from the pens of celebrated authors. I must be totally devoid of discrimination not to admire them, though from my incompetency to judge of them in a critical view, shall not enter into their merits here.

At 7 and 8 P.M. a brisk firing was heard in a new direction, apparently behind the town; this gave rise to an hypothesis that our troops must have advanced considerably nearer than before; moreover our idea was verified on beholding two large fires, one in the city and the other in the neighbourhood, both of which beyond a doubt occasioned by our soldiers. These I compare to what I have frequently seen in London: the reflection of them on the sky by night adds much to their splendid appearance. We had in the evening some very vivid lightning, and whilst my attention was engrossed by it, was more than once diverted to a different object, viz$^{t.}$ the firing of musketry on shore. About 11 o'clock, I was obliged to retire to bed, from an immense shower of rain.

Digitized by Google

25th. It blew very fresh indeed and was accompanied with rain. At 4 P.M., a firing commenced between our troops and the Danes, apparently near the walls of the city; their gun-vessels annoyed our men much, but our Bombs and Windmill Battery forced them to retreat. I spent the major part of the afternoon in the mizentop, from which elevated situation I could better discern the movements and manœuvres of all parties. The action was well supported till 8 o'clock, P.M. Should I be debarred from receiving any prize money for the present Expedition, the noble sights I have so repeatedly witnessed will make ample compensation for the cruize. I almost begin to think my services will not be required on shore, as the Naval Brigade probably will not be wanted; yet I observed three boats, manned and armed, during this day's engagement, steering their course toward the shore, as if for disembarkation to co-operate with the Army.

26th. I resumed my station this morning in the mizentop, from whence I saw a very hot action with our Bombs, troops and the enemy. At 2 P.M., whilst in the act of watching the motions of the latter, I witnessed a truly melancholy spectacle, which was the blowing up of a Danish Gun-vessel; the report was uncommonly loud and preceded by an immense cloud of smoke. Had I been void of sensibility, I might have exulted in the unfortunate event, as it must have excited much confusion on the part of the enemy; but when I reflected that many a poor wretch was by the same occurrence precipitately launched into eternity, I almost wished it had not happened. Till that unlucky period, they had fought a long time and demonstrated no inconsiderable share

Digitized by Google

of intrepidity, but were afterwards nearly silenced for the day. It is supposed that nearly 100 men were in her when she blew up, of which number many must indubitably have perished. Whether the accident was occasioned by one of our shells, or their own imprudence, has not yet been ascertained, though I am inclined to attribute it to the former cause. Of all scenery hitherto noticed in this Journal, this now has the pre-eminence, though its duration was very transitory.

A report has reached us that some Danes repaired a short distance from Copenhagen to practice firing at a mark; when, being observed by our riflemen, were each popped off. The same source of intelligence likewise informs us that 25 of their soldiers were pursued by 15 of ours, and determining to defend themselves to the last, were slain to a single man. The authenticity of *this* report I cannot vouch for, but from the desperate conduct they have in some instances evinced, am disposed to place some credit to it: we are told they refused to accept any quarter. During the remainder of the day, many guns were discharged at intervals.

27th. At 3 this morning, the firing recommenced on both sides, and in point of warmness has not been surpassed yet, though it was not of long duration. Throughout the day my ears were not assailed with the discharge of so many cannon, &c., as yesterday, though no idleness can be attached on that score. At 12, M^r. Congreve, the rocket-maker, came on board to fit a few of these articles in the *Young Prometheus*, now almost ready to be sent into the harbour of Copenhagen, should the Admiral think proper to make the attempt.

11 o'clock at night. Since writing thus far of

Digitized by Google

this day's transactions, have been called on deck to feast my eyes with another breeze kicked up between the military on shore; the flashes of the great guns and musketry show off now to infinite advantage, as the night is rather dark. I can only observe that the day has been ushered in and out by the firing of guns, the result of which, for obvious reasons, must remain to be treated of hereafter when, I flatter myself, the accounts I shall give will be favourable.

28th. Saw a large fire very near the city which, it is conjectured, was caused by our Army, some of whom are now stated to have arrived within 300 yards of the town, so that I am apprehensive the grand crash will not be long ere it take place. Another vessel was sunk in a more remote part of the harbour a few days ago. Purchased some sugar and potatoes from a Swedish boat, the former we paid 1/6 per pound for; the latter were dear and not particularly good. Captain Parker dined with Admiral Gambier. On a minute examination of one of the large spires in the city, I perceived that a winding staircase encircled it on the outside up to the top, which is the only instance of the kind that has ever fallen under my *ecclesiastical* observations, although I flatter myself they are not very limited. I related the novelty of the circumstance to my brother officers, one of whom doubting the fact, offered to wager a dozen of wine to the contrary; however, I thought three bottles a sufficient bet to win, and accordingly referred him to the object by means of a glass, and quickly proved what I have just asserted.

There are many Danish flags flying about the harbour and batteries, &c., which I hope will shortly be superseded by British. It is strongly

Digitized by Google

suggested that a large Russian fleet is daily [expected] here to oppose us ; we hope it may not be until the business is settled at Copenhagen ; then we shall be at leisure to talk to them. We receive frequent supplies of beef and vegetables from Sweden, both of which are inferior to the English. *Some* business in the gunpowder line has been transacted this day, although explosions have not been very numerous.

29th. A general order has been issued stating that a Danish vessel laden with oranges and lemons being detained by the Fleet, any Officers desiring to procure some for their refreshment may obtain them at the rate of £1 12 0 per chest, the price of which in England I fancy would be nearly double that sum. Our lower deck was whitewashed this morning, which gave it a much neater and lighter appearance than before. Since being anchored off Copenhagen I have repeatedly had represented to me the spot where Nelson and his Fleet brought up the night before the memorable battle here in 1802, also the principal batteries that annoyed him particularly on that grand event, together with the places where some of our ships of the line then got aground, &c., &c. Captain Parker dined with Lord Cathcart on shore, and on his return in the evening informed me our Forces were very active and fully employed in making batteries. He said they were advanced within 300 yards of the town as stated yesterday, and have 30 mortars exclusive of many very heavy guns. The attack on the City it is supposed will take place on Monday. Captain P. visited one of their palaces, his description of which was not very favourable as to grandeur and pomp. Great guns and small arms have been discharged by both parties as before.

Digitized by Google

30th. Sunday. Our ship's company were mustered at six bells (i.e. 11 A.M.) agreeable to the regulations of the Service. Sent for a chest of oranges for the Mess, and they proved so very indifferent that we thought proper to dispense with them. At 3 P.M. the following Telegraph communication was conveyed to us from the Admiral's ship through the channel of the signals always employed on such occasions, the invention of Sir Home Popham. 'General Wellesley has gained a complete victory and taken 1 General, 64 officers, 1,200 prisoners and 12 cannon and was pursuing the enemy flying.' I understand Sir A. Wellesley's Brigade were sent after a detachment of Danes to the number of 7,000 in the direction of Elsineur, the chief of whom consisted of armed peasantry, and I presume were not partial to the smell of gunpowder, as Sir A. W.'s force consisted only of 2,000, but the flower of the Army. Had a most excellent turkey for dinner which came from Sweden and cost no more than 4 shillings. Congreve the rocket maker is become the jest of the whole Fleet, insomuch that every person is sporting wit upon him, some have conferred on him the appellation of Commodore Squib, &c.; he appears determined to make himself conspicuous, as he wears a white hat and coat; consequence seems his leading characteristic, which cannot be wondered at with a salary of £2,000 per annum for an invention which hitherto has proved futile. A party of sailors go on shore every evening at sunset to assist the military in throwing up their entrenchments and repairing the batteries. Jack would be equally well pleased in throwing shot and shells at the enemy. The firing has not been carried on to such an extent this day as usual.

31st. At 5 o'clock this morning I was awoke

Digitized by Google

by the warlike music of cannons and mortars, a multiplicity of which were discharged by all parties till 12 A.M. I quitted the deck at 8 to go to breakfast and had scarcely commenced that repast when I heard an explosion apparently close to us, for a moment all was amazement when to relieve, although I might with more propriety say add to our anxiety, a general cry ran through the Prometheus that one of our ships had blown up, which, dreadful to recite, proved literally the case, for a Brig which officiated as a tender to one of our Bombs, and was with the inshore squadron, then engaging the enemy's gun vessels and batteries, unfortunately received a shell on board and blew her up. By this melancholy catastrophe out of 35, 15 only were saved alive, and most of these shockingly wounded. I, of course, immediately ran on deck on the alarm being given, saw several boats rowing to the assistance of the poor wretches. Had the same circumstance happened to one of the Bombs close alongside her, the consequences must have been far more fatal, as they are full of shells, and must have dealt destruction to the surrounding ships, which I believe have not now suffered from the accident. The Danes evinced from their manœuvres much satisfaction on the occasion, and ventured out considerably farther than before. I am informed many men in the Fleet have been wounded this day, and some killed, independent of the ship blown up. Dined with Captain Parker and three other Naval Captains and drank several glasses of champagne, claret and madeira, which Captain P. sports at his table besides some good old port and sherry. We bought a case of lemons for the mess to make punch and lemonade. The Danish Frigate captured a few days ago is very properly converted into an

Digitized by Google

hospital ship. Two or three boats full of Danish prisoners of war passed by this evening to be distributed to different ships in the Fleet. Signal for Naval Legion to go on shore at 7 P.M. to work at our batteries during the night as usual.

September 1st. Punished two Men, viz., one for mutinous expressions with four dozen lashes, the other for drunkenness with one dozen. Some of the Line of Battle Ships sent several of their lower deck guns on shore to be planted in the new batteries erected by our men, and there is great reason to suppose the bombardment on the Town will take place either to-morrow or the next day. We expect the conflict will be bloody as the merchants and responsible men in the city have declared they will defend their property to the last for which declaration they deserve credit, although they are of course actuated by interest. All the women are transferred to the Island of Amack a small distance from Copenhagen, there to remain till the business is determined. This day being the commencement of partridge shooting in England I dare say will not be passed over in oblivion by some of my Warwickshire friends. I also thought *we* might have had some cause for commemorating the day for shooting, though at game of a different description and with guns rather larger than those used by sportsmen in general, however the day proved more quiet than that we have experienced some time, and makes up for so hot a one as yesterday, which proved a fatal one to some, both in the Navy and Army. General Sir David Baird has lost a finger and been wounded in the breast. I observed another large fire in the suburbs of the town, in a beautiful wood which I am told the Danes set on fire purposely as it obstructed their sights and afforded shelter to our

Digitized by Google

troops, especially the riflemen. Amongst the number of Danish prisoners sent on board the Mars is a poor old man who attracts the attention of the whole of that ship's company, from his truly venerable appearance, he is necessitated by infirmity to support himself with a stick. Three of his sons are prisoners in the Mars with him, and one in some other ship; he must doubtless have been a zealous patriot to his country, as he volunteered with his sons to defend it, though a perfect stranger to military tactics. Here the most striking feature of a British sailor is most nobly displayed, for the brave tars around him vie with each other in relieving his various necessities and affording him all the consolation in their power, which he acknowledges by copious floods of tears that roll down his furrowed cheeks. His sons are not unconscious of their sire's good treatment and are absolutely obliged to interfere, as the sailors by constantly forcing the old boy to drink would keep him groggy all weathers, to use their own term. It now rains very hard and has continued so incessantly all the afternoon. It happens rather opportunely that we were enabled to procure lemons for punch, as our stock of wine is nearly expended, although it was by no means a scanty one and ought to have lasted longer; it consisted of four dozen of sherry and six of port amongst four of us, bought just before we sailed from England. A pint of wine, or half that quantity of spirits is the regular ship's allowance, but for convenience of stowage there is nothing but rum served out, which I am sorry for. The Lieutenant of the ship which blew up lost his leg, a man met with a similar accident even up in the foretop, a situation of all others one would have selected for safety, could the occurrence of

Digitized by Google

such a direful event have been prognosticated. The Master's head was blown off, the Mate killed and a Midshipman so badly wounded that he died last night. I know not whether she had any other officers on board, not being a regular ship of the Navy. With regard to her seamen have heard no more since yesterday.

September 2nd. Our Army have cut off the source of water from the City of Copenhagen and thus deprived the inhabitants of that very necessary article of life, excepting what they can procure in the Town. Their distress on that account may be somewhat conjectured when I affirm they are reduced to the necessity of having a certain proportion served out daily per man. Lord Cathcart sent a summons to demand whether they would surrender, and granted them 24 hours to consider, which term expires at this evening. He informed them that if they still persisted, he would blow their Town about their ears, notwithstanding which threat, combined with the difficulties they endure, the spirited reply on the occasion was 'whilst a house remains in Copenhagen we will defend it to the last.' This answer would have done honour to the Romans, and confirms our opinion that they are fully determined on desperation. A Swede whose daughter happened to be in Copenhagen at this critical juncture was frantic for the fate of one so dear to him and contrived to acquaint Lord Cathcart of the affair who very humanely sent a flag of truce for the express purpose of having her restored to her father, which was complied with, and when she was presented to him his heart was so replete with gratitude as to render the scene peculiarly affecting to those who witnessed it. The awful period, viz. the expiration of the time which Lord Cathcart

Digitized by Google

had allowed the Danes to determine on their final resolution with regard to his message, had now arrived; the dusk of the evening was fast approaching; our Bombs were under weigh and making an advancement towards the City. We now stood with an anxious and attentive eye direct towards the scene of action, under momentary expectation of a commencement of the bombardment, for Captain Parker had dined this day with Sir Home Popham and furnished us with intelligence relative to the business. Precisely at half past 7 P.M. our batteries on shore opened and were immediately seconded by the Bombs. At first the Danes appeared rather unprepared for such a sudden attack, and for the space of some few minutes did not answer the fire, however shortly the compliment was returned, and as the night now became very dark not a shell in making its aerial tour could escape our observation, so that the sublimity of the scenery must now be conceived, for I am absolutely unable to describe it and can only repeat what I have frequently stated in this chronological sketch, that hitherto this stands first in the list of grand, awful and beautiful sights I have ever yet beheld. The extreme brilliancy and velocity of the shells as they traverse the air is far greater than I could have imagined, and, their altitude almost incredible, 'twas curious to see those fired by the opposite parties cross each other in the atmosphere, and we several times thought a collision must have taken place between some of them as they passed excessively close together. The major part were extremely well directed and must, I doubt not, have done considerable execution as they burst over the town. About 9 o'clock by way of adding additional splendour and variety to the exhibition,

Digitized by Google

Mr. Congreve despatched a number of his fire rockets towards the town, soon after which it was on fire in three different places at the same time, but whether to attribute the ignition to those instruments is rather ambiguous, though in justice to both them and the shells I fancy they each contributed. To render the fires in the City more conspicuous to my view I ascended into the mizentop and was fully gratified for my trouble; the Captain and other officers did the same and we had some supper hoisted up there. From the coldness of the night and such an exposed situation it was requisite to have recourse to great coats, and even then could not remain there more than an hour. During this space the fires continued to rage with much fury in Copenhagen, nor had the battle in point of warmness abated. Amongst our Bombs, the Vesuvius was generally noticed as being particularly active and expeditious in firing, and her shells were thought to exceed in height those of the other vessels, however this idea must I think be merely hypothetical. The reflection of the flashes from the mortars on the sky resembled lightning, the night being unusually dark. At half past 11 whilst the bombardment was briskly carrying on, a ship ran foul of us and carried away our jibboom, flying jibboom, sprit-sail yard and fore-top-gallant mast with a tolerable crash. All hands were instantly called upon deck out of their hammocks to assist in clearing away the wreck, &c. On hailing the ship which did it we could obtain no answer, that on her part was policy, for the Admiral would in all probability have severely reprimanded the officer who had the watch for such a lubberly action. Finding myself growing very cold and sleepy I left the deck soon after midnight and

Digitized by Google

retired to rest. The shells and red hot shot were then flying about very fast, though certainly not so numerous as at an earlier hour in the night. The conflagrations in the City were then nearly stationary. This sport lasted till daylight in the morning, when things once more resumed their natural appearance.

September 3rd. On reviewing Copenhagen this morn should not have been surprised to have perceived some visible effects of the preceding night's devastation, such as the deficiency of a spire, &c., however nothing of the kind was evident, although it is clear the Danes must have sustained material damage. I understand several shots struck our Bombs, but cannot yet obtain any official statement as to their effects. Some carpenters whom we now have on board from the Maida repairing the damage we sustained from the ship last night have been working at our batteries on shore and inform me a new one is nearly accomplished closer than the other and just opposite their floating batteries, and also the Crown Battery, the former of which they expect it will be able to sink, and the latter silence. Extreme caution has been observed in erecting it and the least noise avoided lest it should be heard by the Danes; the men begin to work at it as soon as it grows dark in the eve, and leave off on the approach of day-light in the morning. At this Battery the platform on which the guns run is made with screws instead of nails, as the hammering they would require must reach the ears of the Danes; the men likewise carry the wood a considerable distance to prevent carts or waggons approaching near, for the same reason. The workmen prior to leaving off in the morning cover the whole over with bush, &c., to deceive

Digitized by Google

the unsuspecting Danes who can have no idea of a battery so near them. Saw a newspaper from England which stated that private information had been received of Copenhagen being reduced to ashes, with many more erroneous assertions respecting our proceedings here. This proves to us that we ought not to place too great confidence in those publications, as by so doing we are liable to be led astray. About 8 this evening the bombardment recommenced with much vigour, and the whole may justly be termed the second act of the play which began last night. I amused myself by observing it as before till midnight, then went to bed. It was, however, carried on the whole of the night, in fact I was considerably prevented from going to sleep in consequence of the frequent loud reports.

September 4th. Several letters came on board for the common seamen but none for the officers. The cannonading continues at intervals. Just as I had concluded my tea this afternoon, was requested to go on deck if fond of superb sights. I immediately attended the summons and witnessed unexceptionably the largest fire I ever beheld, which was in the centre of Copenhagen ; have seen several fires in London, all of which were very insignificant when compared with this ; in fine, I cannot speak of its grand effects without committing tautology, which error I have unavoidably fallen into, not infrequently, in treating of subjects lately. From the magnitude of the fire, I suspect it must have been burning the whole day, as we saw an immense smoke from nearly the same spot some time before. It was now between 6 and 7 P.M., notwithstanding which the flames were more evident than those we lately saw at midnight, so that as the day closed we looked forward to a still

Digitized by Google

more splendid scene, and were not disappointed in our expectations, for the night naturally proved unusually dark and shewed off this dreadful fire to the utmost advantage, exactly over which the sky appeared similar to the sun when viewed through an intermediate cloud, and the circumference to a very considerable extent was of a blood-red colour. The light arising from it was so great as to enable me to read or write on the Quarter-deck of the Prometheus with much facility. About 8 o'clock the Batteries and Bombs began to blaze away and distribute their favours very profusely, but from the light of the fire we were debarred in a great measure from seeing the shells fly through the air. Congreve transmitted many of his rockets towards the Town, which for the cause recited above did not appear so lucid as on former occasions. Could the whole of this awful scene be committed to paper by an ingenious pencil it would form an elegant subject for a transparent. The firing was again tremendous all night, and to advert to my simile, constitutes the third act of the play, with improved scenery, machinery, &c. Conformable to my recent custom, I did not quit the deck till past midnight, at which time the fire was making a progress, and dealing its ravages very largely. I felt for one of the Churches which I thought must soon be involved in the conflagration. We could discern the houses, &c., the same as in broad daylight. To exemplify what I have advanced concerning the light of the fire, I wrote my name by way of specimen on the quarter-deck,[1] but as the wind blew very vehemently I could not without much inconvenience keep the paper steady, or should have made some memorandums there, on the

[1] This is attached to the MS.

Digitized by Google

business. I recollect on perusing the history of the Riots in London in the year 1780, that an old fellow was heard to exclaim upon seeing Newgate in a blaze that he had not missed being present at a fire in the metropolis for 50 years, but never before saw one so grand as that. What must he have said had he seen the one in question at Copenhagen? Although the confusion and consternation on the part of the Danes must have been deplorable still, as if regardless of the flames, the guns and mortars were as well attended as ever.

September 5th. At 5 this morning was informed the largest church in Copenhagen was on fire and well merited observation, on which apprisal I instantly jumped out of bed and ran on deck with only a great coat on. I then cast my eyes to the accustomed quarter and derived a melancholy gratification on beholding the sacred edifice so roughly handled by that all-devouring element. The Spire—a very lofty one—*was* an octagonal building, beautifully ornamented with gilded decorations, but alas! had fallen to the ground from near its base, owing to a destruction of its materials. The remaining steeple, which is also considerably high, exhibited a woeful spectacle, being encompassed to its now uncouth summit by the sacrilegious flames which were vomited out in torrents from the different windows and outlets. Although it was daylight the whole resembled an immense pillar of fire. Had it happened at night who could have described its effects? Even now I must plead inability to do it. Having gazed till novelty was overbalanced by sorrow for such an event, I proceeded below and shortly afterwards my professional avocation was directed to a man in fits, whom having restored, breakfast was ready. At 9 A.M. several boats

Digitized by Google

full of sailors went on shore, I suppose to relieve the soldiers at the batteries, who must be fatigued from the brisk firing they have supported throughout the night, and which was afterwards continued 'till past 12 at noon. At 5 P.M. we saw another large fire in the city, which I think originated from the former one as that had not been extinguished. This evening to our astonishment there was no repetition of the bombardment, which made us suspect that a negotiation might possibly be carrying on, for scarcely a gun was fired on either side.

September 6th. During breakfast this morning heard the cry of 'news, *news*,' and interrogating the cause was answered, 'Copenhagen surrendered last night at 10 o'clock.' Our amazement was great indeed, though it is hardly necessary to state the surprise was an agreeable one. As I have before hinted, we all observed that a cessation of hostilities seemed to be clear last night, and expected Lord Cathcart might have sent into the town a final message declaring his intentions of destroying the whole of it, as he had some part, if they still persevered in making further resistance. However this conjecture proved vice versa, for the Danes sent flags of truce, both to his lordship and Admiral Gambier. To the latter they thought proper to transmit two lest one might perchance get destroyed before his arrival, the night being very dark, and a few solitary guns being fired occasionally. No further particulars have as yet reached us. 'Tis thought they have acted very wisely in taking this step, as the city must have been stormed otherwise; the consequence of which must have inevitably have created a dreadful effusion of blood, if three days bombardment has not already effected it. Thus terminates the

Digitized by Google

Battle of Copenhagen, which at first was thought would not have occupied half the period it has. The Danes have been reduced to the last extremity and as far as I am capable of judging, behaved very courageously. The fire in the town is still very conspicuous but the smoke is sufficiently dispelled to open to our view the spireless churches, lately the pride of Copenhagen. One was knocked down on the 2^{d} of April 1802, in Nelson's engagement here. Admiral Gambier went on shore at 5 this morning to confer with Lord Cathcart respecting the Capitulation and did not return on board the Prince of Wales until 8 at night. Sir Home Popham passed the Prometheus in his way from the shore this evening, and was near being upset in his boat, as he narrowly escaped running foul of the Sloop lately fitted out by us as a Fireship, and which I have before said we nominated Prometheus Jun^{r}. The error consisted in the boat attempting to pass under our stern, not perceiving they should be intercepted by the tow-rope connecting the two vessels 'till almost too late. The old Admiral mentioned above is a very religious man, hence is called by the Sailors ' Jemmy the good.' The Articles of war were read to our ship's crew as usual, it being Sunday, and Capt^{n}. Parker dined on board the Goliath. In the eve we saw the fire very brisk.

September 7. A wet uncomfortable day. The British Colours are not yet flying in Copenhagen, owing, I suppose, to matters not being arranged thoroughly. Things are conducted in a very private manner, as even in the Admiral's ship no one is acquainted with any of the terms. Sir Home went on shore this morning without the Admiral, but for what purpose I have not yet heard. I yesterday penned a letter to London,

Digitized by Google

to apprise my brothers of the fate of Copenhagen. At 2 P.M. a general signal for a Lieutenant, for which the subsequent is a Copy of the Order, 'Prince of Wales in the Sound, September 7, 1807. The Admiral has much satisfaction in acquainting the Flag Officers, Captains, Seamen and Marines of the Fleet under his command that a Capitulation has this day been concluded, that the Danish Fleet and all the Danish Stores are given up and that a detachment of the Army will march round the Citadel and Dockyard at 6 o'clock. The Admiral takes this occasion of expressing his highest approbation of the uniform zealous exertions of all the officers, seamen and marines under his command on the arduous and laborious service in which they have been engaged, and he speaks in the utmost confidence of witnessing similar exertions in the equipment of the Danish Fleet to convey it to England. Addressed to the respective Captains and Commanders, &c., &c., &c.' I may now replace my amputating instruments, tourniquets, and other necessaries, which I had packed up for the purpose of taking on shore with the Naval Brigade, into their proper cases, as their use cannot now be required out of the ship. Dined with Cap$^{tn.}$ Parker who indulged me with some champagne on the strength of the Copenhagen business being finally settled.

September 8th. Signal made for all ships to unmoor; some to proceed into the Harbour of Copenhagen, and the others into the Little Belt, so that I hope an opportunity may be presented, as the Prometheus is included in the former number, of visiting the City and witnessing the ravages and devastations of war, which I fancy will not demand much investigation to discover. We are all uncommonly anxious to learn the extent

Digitized by Google

of our injuries, killed and wounded, &c. At 4 P.M. got under weigh and proceeded nearer the town, as did the remaining ships of the squadron that were not ordered to the Belt. Our prospect of the City was now of course more distinct than before. On the Crown Battery I observed many bags, which contained cotton or wool and were placed over the magazine for its preservation against shells or red-hot shots. This famous Battery is not the work of nature but art, and must have cost immense labour to have thrown it up, being a perfect Island, detached from the town on shore. When Nelson was here it chiefly consisted of pile-work, but now is totally different and has not the appearance of an artificial island. All Line of Battle ships are ordered to send 150 men each to assist in rigging the Danish Ships of War.

September 9. General signal from the Vice-Admiral, and the following order issued—'H.M.S. Pompée, Copenhagen. It is my directions that the Fireships, Sloops, and Bombs send on shore immediately one half of their ship's companies with their hammocks, a week's provision and two tons of water, with one Lieutenant and proper officers, applying to Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, K.B., at the Dockyard for instructions. Signed, H. Stanhope. Addressed to the Commanders of H.M. Fireships, Sloops and Bombs.' As the above order affected the Prometheus, half our ship's company were despatched to the Dockyard according, where they were afterwards sent to work in a frigate. The Danes had scuttled all their ships ready to sink them, but from threats in case they enforced it, prudently desisted from so doing. Another packet of letters from England was brought on board for some of the Promethians, but none for myself. Returned Captain Parker the

Digitized by Google

books he lent me some days ago, and commenced another entitled 'Johannes Secundus' being a series of poetical pieces, the eloquence of which must be admired by those fond of Poetry. The weather now becomes very cold and unpleasant, so that I shall be glad when the Danish Ships are in a sufficient state of forwardness for us to sail for England. We are quite in the dark with regard to the terms of capitulation, &c., nor do we know what ship has taken in the important despatches. This secrecy cannot possibly arise from political motives, therefore we see no reason why we should be debarred of such intelligence. It is suspected we shall receive no prize money on the occasion, as it is suggested the Fleet will only be detained during the war. The Astrea and Surveillante frigates got aground this morning but I believe sustained no damage. The inhabitants of Copenhagen hissed our military when they marched into the city and evinced many symptoms of discontent, all which were treated with indifference by our soldiers.

September 10th. At 1 this morning a batten to which several hammocks were suspended gave way, and they fell with the men in them to the deck, which accident occasioned one man a severe cut on the frontal bone of the head, thereby rendering my attendance necessary. Was this day presented with a Danish tourniquet, and pair of pistols, found in one of the enemy's gun vessels; the latter are evidently more constructed for utility than ornament. Lieut. Setford likewise having a brace, thoughtlessly pointed one at me and snapped the trigger, luckily it didn't go off, for on examination immediately afterwards to our astonishment it was found primed and loaded. The ball I now have in my possession. A large con-

Digitized by Google

course of Danes have been looking on from the beach at *our* Sailors employed with *their* shipping, at whose manœuvres they do not seem well satisfied. Heard that four Lieutenants are ordered under an arrest by Sir Samuel Hood for marooning as the nautical phrase is, i.e., embezzling a few small articles for their own use, during the time they were employed in Copenhagen Dockyard. At 5 P.M. our master came on board in a state of intoxication, from the Danish ship in which he had been superintending the men from the Prometheus, to assist in rigging her out. For this breach of duty he was instantly sent to his cabin under confinement as a prisoner. In the evening we had some very vivid lightning unattended with thunder.

September 11th. It now blows a gale of wind and is equally cold as November in England. I found it so piercing last night as to induce me to place an additional blanket on my bed. A signal is made for fresh beef, which, as our stock of poultry, &c., is exhausted, will not prove an unacceptable article. I observe they are making tolerable progress with the ships in the harbour, some of them having got their upper masts in, with rigging over them. The majority are very fine ships, but those of the Line are not coppered. There are many brass guns in the Dockyard.

September 12. Capt^{n}. Parker and his Clerk went on shore to the Dockyard, the former to officiate as Deputy Commissioner, and the latter to assist the Store-keeper-elect, to which situation some Purser in the Fleet is appointed. In the afternoon a flat-bottomed boat belonging to the Valiant 74 came alongside the Prometheus with a little midshipman who said that his crew, consisting of 22, were in such a state of inebriety

Digitized by Google

as to prevent him proceeding farther, and he therefore found it expedient to heave to at the first ship, which happened to be the Prometheus. He was bound to the Dockyard, and the Valiant soon after perceiving his situation sent a cutter to tow them in. The poor fellows had been working very hard at the Danish Ships and received double allowance of grog for the same, which accounts for their conduct. They afforded a ludicrous scene, some few made attempts to row, but were totally defeated in their endeavours by the others. I understand we are allowed in the capitulation the limited period of six weeks for the equipment of all the ships, and removal of the stores from Copenhagen, which from the strenuous exertions of our men, I hope will prove sufficient.

September 13th, Sunday. Notwithstanding this day is generally observed in the British Navy, the exigencies of the present case will not admit of relaxation from business, which is now carried on with the strictest alacrity, and the utmost pains taken to accelerate this important and urgent duty. Captain Parker does not even sleep on board, nor do we expect to see him till the hurry has somewhat abated; in fact we have reason to suppose he will obtain an appointment to take one of the Danish Line of Battle ships to England. At 8 this morning when the vessels of war hoisted their colours conformable to custom, we observed the Astrea frigate had got her ensign Union downward, which is the regular signal of distress. As we were moored near her, our 1st Lieutenant by way of carrying on the joke, had almost determined to send a boat to enquire if he could render her any assistance, being well assured it could only be a mistake of the Quartermasters in

Digitized by Google

hoisting. It was flying half an hour before they discovered it, when the error was instantly remedied. A Swedish boat brought us some eggs, tea, &c., of which we stood much in need. They charged us nearly the English price for them. Mr. Symonds, our master's-mate who is now employed in the Dockyard instead of the master, sent me as a curiosity a considerable portion of a shell which fell on board a frigate and was discharged from one of our mortars. Having an unpleasant attack of sore throat, I am under the necessity of calling in the aid of my *favourite* remedy, water gruel; however as it is only the effects of a cold, I do not despair of speedy relief.

September 14. A heavy firing was heard early this morning in the direction of the Belt, but on what occasion I cannot learn. Two fine Line of Battle ships came out of the harbour this day. They are very bulky but not so handsome as the British. Our sailors are indefatigable and strive to outvie each other in expedition and despatch. The first Danish ship sent out was rigged by the men of the Ruby 64. A man from the Prometheus fell down into the hold of the ship he was working at and sustained some injury. Captain Parker therefore wished him to be sent on board under my care but *he*, zealous to exert himself, would not consent to it. I am informed by a gentleman who visited the City of Copenhagen this morning that the fire destroyed 400 houses, and the last night of the bombardment upwards of 300 women and children perished. The same person saw whilst in the town a Danish soldier hung for desertion. There are handbills posted up in the streets to caution the Danes against ill-treating any British officers or men, several having narrowly escaped with their lives. Am

Digitized by Google

extremely mortified that permission is not granted to the officers of reviewing the city as I should have been delighted in exploring its ruins, and might possibly have collected some curiosities left by the flames. We are told that a quantity of copper, tar, &c., has been discovered in the dockyard, and that the store houses are well furnished with every species of necessaries for equipping the ships. My brother officers are now continually calculating the prize money that may fall to their share for Copenhagen. However, I have more than once been grossly deceived on similar speculations, therefore shall not build upon it lest the foundation prove defective and the whole edifice fall to the ground. Should all the ships be made prizes to us, the amount must be considerable, but when distributed and sifted about to so many thousands engaged in the Expedition, will be reduced to a small sum individually.

September 15th. Between 1 and 2 P.M. a salute was fired by a Swedish merchant ship on her coming out of the harbour of Copenhagen; three more Line of Battle ships also made their exit from the same quarter, and there is no doubt but they will now tumble out very fast. They all appear nearly of the same build. The afternoon being very pleasant I accompanied Lieut. Setford in the boat to take a sail and went to see two of the Danish floating batteries, one a two-decker called the Mars, the other a frigate whose name was St. Thomas. They had taken every precaution to guard against our shells and red-hot shot, being well lined with woolsacks, sandbags, &c. They have likewise some very convenient little hand-pumps to extinguish any fire instantly wherever it might take place. At every gun a card con-

Digitized by Google

taining the names of those men who were quartered at the same was nailed up. Our shots had struck the Mars several times. She had a nice bell on board belonging to her. The guns were extremely ancient. Both the vessels were very filthy, and reminded me that I was not on board a British man of war, which is noted for its extreme cleanliness and good order. After having satisfied our curiosity we returned to the Prometheus to tea.

September 16. Nine more Danish Line of Battle ships were brought out of the harbour to-day, making the number now 14, so that we begin to cut a very respectable figure in the roads. At 5 P.M. I went with two of my brother officers to see a ship of the above description, which was rigged out by the Hercules men. The Lieut. and Master who had charge of her were extremely polite to us and insisted on our taking some wine with them. The Danes allow their Captains *chairs* and tables for their use, which are very paltry concerns. This ship is large and roomy, but in other points much inferior to those of our own of a corresponding rate. It is currently reported here that Buonaparte had purchased all the Men of War belonging to the Danes. I cannot vouch for the authenticity of it. A multiplicity of various rumours are perpetually in circulation, so that it is no easy matter to draw a line of discrimination between those which demand attention and those which are really vague. I have therefore endeavoured as much as possible to avoid perplexity here, by the non-insertion of those which strike me as being frivolous or vexatious. Two Danish soldiers yesterday deserted to our people in the Dockyard.

September 17th. Another Line of Battle ship was sent out of the harbour at 7 this morning by

Digitized by Google

our persevering Tars whose strenuous exertions are highly meritorious. The weather is now more pleasant and warm than a few days back, but showery at intervals. Lord Cathcart's residence here is on a beautiful spot called the Hermitage, about 3 or 4 miles from Copenhagen. I am now engaged in the perusal of a chymical work, written by a Mr. Parkes of London and published two or three months ago. The book was *originally* intended to elucidate the study of that Science to his only son, and for that purpose is arranged in dialogues. I have not mentioned it here to enumerate its good, systematic qualities, thereby turning critic, a task for which of course I am not qualified, but merely to express the unexpected pleasure I have derived in reading it, on finding a superfluity of beautiful notes, which evidently prove the author to be a complete moralist as well as a man of considerable erudition. He has there had recourse to several applicable poetical quotations from Milton, Darwin, Thompson, Pope, &c., &c., and added some elegant pathetic lines of his own to them. On the whole his sentimental annotations savour more of divinity than any philosophical work I recollect to have read. He demonstrates by immense proofs the absurdity of attributing *certain* events to *fortuitous* causes, although to us shortsighted mortals it may appear impossible to account for them.

September 18th. Early this morning we experienced some tremendous thunder and lightning accompanied with very heavy rain. A windmill in the suburbs of Copenhagen was totally destroyed by the lightning, which is the only mischief I have as yet heard of. In the vicinity of the above capital I counted more than 20 of those wind machines, most of which were grinding

Digitized by Google

away nearly the whole of the time hostilities were carrying on, I suppose more from necessity than bravado. At 1 Cap$^{tn.}$ Parker came on board from the Dockyard after an absence of four or five days from the Prometheus. To our universal astonishment he informed us we should sail for England to-morrow and take Sir Arthur Wellesley and suite passengers—a second time. Had it not been for the sake of evading the cold weather which may now be expected in this quarter, I would have preferred remaining till the whole Danish Fleet were equipped for sea. However it is certainly more pleasant and safe to go home alone than with a Fleet or convoy, considering the passage and season of the year. All our hands have now returned from the Dockyard. At half past 7 P.M. the Honb$^{le.}$ Capt$^{n.}$ Stanhope (one of Sir A. Wellesley's Aid-de-Camps) came alongside rather unexpectedly; shortly after the General himself, and at 9 Capt$^{n.}$ Campbell, the other Aid-de-Camp, made their appearances. Captain Parker was very glad to see them again, as in fact we all were, thinking we may now perchance pick up some intelligence respecting the manœuvres of the military on shore during the various skirmishes with the Danes. They all seem in high spirits at the thoughts of revisiting England again.

September 19th. Sir Arthur's suite and Captain Parker breakfasted on board the Prince of Wales with Admiral Gambier, and on their return we hove up the anchor and got under weigh. Prior to our sailing an order came on board to discharge Mr. Ankers, Captain's Clerk, into the Prince of Wales on promotion, by desire of Sir Home Popham, owing to Captain Parker's recommendation. He is a native of Alcester in

Digitized by Google

Warwickshire, and gave me a list of the Danish ships of war, of which the following is a copy. The number of guns and date of the year when built is annexed to each ship:

	Guns.	A.D.
Christian 7th	96	1803
Neptunus	84	1789
Waldemar	84	1789
Princess Sophia Frederica	74	1775
Justice	74	1774
Heir Apparent Frederik	74	1782
Crown Prince Frederik	74	1784
Fyen	74	1787
Oden	74	1788
Three Crowns	74	1789
Skiold	74	1798
Crown Princess Maria	74	1791
Denmark	74	1794
Norge	74	1800
Princess Carolina	74	1795
Ditmarkson[1]	64	1780
Conqueror	64	1795
Mars	64	1784
Seyeren[2]	64	..

[1] Dithmarschen

[2] Seierherre

FRIGATES

Pearl	44	1804
House Wife[3]	44	1789
Liberty	44	1795
Iris	44	1793
Rota	44	1801
Venus	44	1803
Triton	28	1790
Frederigstagn	28	1800
Little Belt	24	1801
St. Thomas	22	1779
Fylla	24	1802
Elbe	20	1800
Edegren[4]	20	1802
Gluckstadt[5]	20	1804

Gun Vessels with 1 gun in the bow and 1 in the stern: No. 14.

Gun vessels with 3 guns in the bow; No. 11.

GUN BRIGS, &c.

Sharpe[6]	18	1791
Ned Elven[7]	18	1792
Daphne	18	1792
Glammer[8]	18	1791
Murcure[9]	18	1806
Courier	14	1801
Flying Fish	14	1789
Alert	18	1807

Since the above Catalogue was drawn out another brig has been discovered whose name I have not heard.

[3] Havfrue. [4] Eideren. [5] Glykstad. [6] Sarpen.
[7] Nidelven. [8] Glommen. [9] Mercurius.

I may now bid adieu to Copenhagen and our Fleet and think it likely I may never see so large a one again, that is including British and Danish men of war with Transports and merchant ships, altogether exceeding 400 sail. We have a large quantity of private letters on board for England and I believe dispatches as well. Dined with Captain

Digitized by Google

Parker, Sir A. Wellesley, &c., and was not displeased at partaking of some venison, goose, champagne, claret, &c., the former was very good but being nearly destitute of fat, not so fine as what I have tasted in England; nevertheless, from this trivial observation, let it not be supposed that I am an epicure. During dinner Sir Arthur entertained us with an account of his various military proceedings and adventures since the time of his disembarkation. About 5 P.M. Cronenburgh or what is more commonly termed Elsineur Castle was not far distant from us. Between 6 and 7 the Prometheus got aground on a chalky bank, but luckily was extricated in the course of half an hour without sustaining any damage. This is the third and most favourable time I have been placed in that unpleasant situation.

September 20th. The wind at present is not very propitious for our passage to England. This forenoon whilst walking the deck, Captain Stanhope entertained us with a detail of some events that occurred whilst he was in Denmark, one or two of which appearing rather singular, I shall recapitulate them in his own words:—says he 'I was one day standing with a brother officer lounging against a door and debating whether to step in and get a snap when a shot went bang through the door and put an end to our dispute. Another time some of us were on the windmill (already mentioned as a battery) and had just descended from it when one or two shells went bang through the top of it.' He told us that a Churchyard was filled with wounded men. In the evening we had some wet weather accompanied by heavy squalls. I am sorry to find that my cabin leaks much in bad weather and my bed has been made very wet once or twice, insomuch that

Digitized by Google

I have been under the necessity of affixing sponge, &c., in different places to counteract it in some measure.

September 21. Throughout the night it has been blowing very fresh and still continues with little or no abatement. The General and suite, not being much accustomed to the sea, feel very squirmish on the strength of it. At 11 A.M. saw a ship to windward sticking on the rocks, where she must have struck in bad weather. Am now employed in bringing up my Medical Journal, &c., in order to have them in readiness on our arrival in England, should the Physician come on board to inspect them, which is sometimes the case.

September 22. Was awoke last night by water dropping down on my bed, notwithstanding I had used various methods to prevent it. We are now sailing at the rate of 9 knots or miles per hour with a fair wind for England. I now begin to experience rather a dearth of materials for chronologizing, nor do I in fact feel any great solicitude for them, as it is very disagreeable weather for writing.

September 23d. It still continues to blow fresh and at intervals is attended with squalls. At 11 A.M. fired a gun to bring to a vessel which proved to be a Galliot. In the afternoon saw another ship to windward, which on making the private signal turned out the Ariadne, a 20-gun ship bound to Copenhagen. She had heard of the surrender of that city, but had no news to communicate. Wrote the constituent parts of two letters, viz., one to my mother and the other to my brothers in town, in order to have them in readiness to dispatch immediately on our arrival in England. I found it convenient to refer to this chronological sketch for the relation of certain occur-

Digitized by Google

rences that had transpired during the cruize, and those which I considered of sufficient importance formed a part of the epistolary intercourse.

September 24th. Whilst taking my usual morning's walk on deck was requested to visit a man in a fit. This avocation is by no means infrequent with me in the Prometheus, for the same person who has just occupied my attention, is generally attacked every 2 or 3 days at farthest, and those he is afflicted with are peculiarly distressing, as they sometimes require the assistance of several men to hold him. I have also another patient subject to the same malady. This day has been very fine, but the wind rather unfavourable for our course. Sir Arthur Wellesley I understand is charged with dispatches, the nature of which we are ignorant. I heard him say he commanded a regiment at the age of 23, so that he has possibly seen much service.

September 25th. Punished a man with two dozen lashes for being drunk and absent at quarters last night. I have lately experienced considerable uneasiness in my finger in consequence of some glass which has remained there more than a year, without a chance of being extracted, though from the recent pain I have felt, I am in hopes it is moving nearer the surface. It will appear that I am scribbling any nonsense by way of spinning out my journal, but as I have throughout inserted those incidents which particularly struck me at the time is the only apology I can offer for the above frivolous one.

September 26th. The wind is now become much in our favour and the breeze being a stiff one, have been travelling most part of the day at the rate of 9 and 10 knots an hour, but have fallen in with no ships whatever.

Digitized by Google

27th. This morning has been a truly unpleasant one, being ushered in with rain which has continued incessantly till 12 o'clock. My cabin has felt the ill effects of it more forcibly than ever. Have been sadly incommoded by a thick fog, which has prevented us from carrying any press of sail. In the afternoon saw some fishing vessels and shortly after beheld the land in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth ; between 7 and 8 the lighthouses in the same quarter were very visible. Everything was now prepared to bring the ship to an anchor, as the pilot knew nothing of the entrance into Yarmouth Roads, nor did any one on board by night. In short, owing to adverse winds, &c., we had got completely out of our course till we spoke one of the above vessels this day. At 9 P.M. let go an anchor off Winterton Lights where we remained till morning. The pilot, as I have hinted, being ignorant of this Coast, the gunner whose knowledge of it is not *quite* so confined, has undertaken the charge of the ship.

September 28th. At daylight weighed and proceeded to Yarmouth where we brought up again about 10. Sir Arthur Wellesley and suite then took leave of us and set off with their despatches for town. Everyone is now anxious to hear of his friends, and the current news of the day.

September 29th. Heard that many Sea Fencibles, &c., had volunteered their service to assist in bringing home the Danish Fleet, and that the public in general were rather anxious for its arrival. Received a letter from my brother Professor, S. Bucknill Junr. of Rugby, which [lay] at Yarmouth Post Office nearly the whole of my absence up the Baltic. Concluded and sent off the

Digitized by Google

two I began to London and Radway, in which I stated that we expected to sail immediately to Copenhagen again with volunteers, therefore I was under the disagreeable necessity of advising my mother not to answer her letter now, as I should not have an opportunity of receiving it prior to our departure from England. My brother I requested to write by return of post, as from the expeditious London conveyance I might possibly have a reply before sailing, and even a few lines would relieve me of considerable anxiety with respect to my friends.

September 30th. Having two patients, very proper objects for the hospital, have been employed in writing out their cases and arranging matters preparatory to conducting them thither. It now blows excessively hard indeed and the foul weather flag is hoisted as a signal to deter any boat from attempting to go on shore during the gale. Many are lost here from time to time with their crews. The watermen are more exorbitant in their fare at Yarmouth than any port I ever was at, not excepting Deal. It is no uncommon thing for them to demand 30s. and 2 guineas for just rowing off to a ship, and if from certain exigencies they conceive your case to be desperate (such as your ship getting under weigh with a probability of being left behind, &c.) will with great deliberation impose a much larger sum than what I have mentioned. From the above circumstances it is a well known fact that many who go ashore on duty or business have consequently the mortification of seeing their ships sail without them, which not unfrequently proves detrimental to His Majesty's Service as well as prejudicial to individuals concerned. Could a regulation here be established similar to that adopted by watermen and Hackney-coachmen in

Digitized by Google

town, it would doubtless be of the utmost utility, for these base extortioners are so incorporated together, that if one refuse a boat at a stated price, the others by way of preserving the charter will not make any abatement. Perhaps from my having entered somewhat largely upon this subject it will be conjectured that I rank myself with those who have suffered from the inconvenience, but that is not the case, notwithstanding, could I from the advancement of arguments obviate it, should not hesitate in scribbling many more.

October 1st. Accompanied the two invalids to the Hospital and never experienced worse weather in a boat. As the wind blew towards the shore it created an immense surf (for which Yarmouth is very noted) and the roaring noise it occasions on the beach is heard at a considerable distance, however got through it tolerably well, and on seeing my patients safe in the hospital, I repaired to a tavern to obtain some refreshment and then went with my brother-officers to the Play, which happened to be the Stranger with the Farce of Tom Thumb; As to the performance, after having visited the London Theatres, this did not appear in the most favourable light. I must however do the Actors justice by remarking they did not deviate from their Motto, which was "*Conabimur*," signifying "We will endeavour", for they certainly exerted themselves to the utmost, and as a country theatre, I think rather exceeded the state of mediocrity. The house itself cannot boast of any peculiar good quality. On the conclusion of the Play my companions back returned to our Inn, supped and retired to rest, so that I once more slept on terra firma. My reasons for remaining on shore after transacting my duty at the hospital was partly owing to the inclemency of the weather

Digitized by Google

from exposure in an open boat, and partly being in want of a few articles I wished to purchase myself.

October 2nd. As soon as I had breakfasted I took a walk to see the parish church, conformable to my usual practice. It is a large gothic building dedicated to St. Nicholas containing many monuments worthy of notice, especially one erected to a chandler, which is truly emblematical, having represented on either side of it candles carved out of marble, and underneath its base an extinguisher of the same, with this superscription "Death extinguishes All." In one of the aisles is a flat stone to perpetuate the memory of the Captain of the Dutch ship Hercules who died at the age of 23 of the wounds he received in Duncan's action on the 11th October [1] and was interred at Yarmouth with military honours. I also perused many other pleasing monumental inscriptions. On directing my course to a more remote part of the Church I derived no small gratification from the sight of some very heavy bells, the Tenor of which I consider nearly as ponderous as that of St. Bride's, London. I did not stumble on these musical gentry merely by chance, for seeing the steeple under repair, I well knew it could not contain them, consequently they must be deposited elsewhere, and thinking they might furnish some hints to add to my stock of Campanistanean Intelligence, resolved to find their retreat. The old spire being decayed was taken down, and a new one is now being built, the plan of which I do not much admire for durability, as it is first framed out with wood, and sheets of lead afterwards nailed on it, notwithstanding which it is tolerably lofty. It strikes me that the one recently

[1] 1797.

Digitized by Google

destroyed at Copenhagen was constructed upon the same principles from the combustibility of its materials. The Churchyard at Yarmouth is uncommonly large, being the only burial-ground in the Parish, and from its plenitude of tombs and gravestones presents an extensive field to a contemplative mind. Many of them appertain to Naval men and are engraved with appropriate epitaphs and records. Having satiated my curiosity as far as time would admit of, I quitted the dreary mansions of the dead and revisited those of the living, from whence I equipped myself with what necessaries I wanted, and repaired on board the Prometheus to attend my patients. The town of Yarmouth is in my opinion superior to Portsmouth or Plymouth, but as it possesses no Dockyard is, of course, less celebrated as a seaport. The two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk are separated by Yarmouth Bridge.

October 3rd. A vessel came alongside to remove our combustibles, having now no more use for them. No one regretted their departure knowing how dangerous they would be should the ship take fire by any means. Received a letter from my brothers in town, containing the grateful intelligence of the welfare of themselves and relatives.

October 4th, Sunday. At ½ past 10 A.M. our signal was made to unmoor, and at 4 P.M. Captn. Parker accompanied by Mr. Merry, the Ambassador and suite who were going passengers in the Prometheus, came on board in the Admiral's boat, immediately after which we got under weigh and steered a second time towards Copenhagen, having on board several volunteers, supernumeraries &c. In the evening a ship was very near running foul of us. What little wind there

Digitized by Google

is rather favours us, but it appears dying away to a calm.

5th. The morning has been very damp and foggy, but a tolerable breeze having sprang up we have been sailing at the rate of 10 or 11 knots an hour so that I am in hopes we shall have an expeditious passage.

6th. Since yesterday the wind has considerably fallen off, but as it comes from the right quarter we can keep jogging on our course, though not with much velocity. Punished Rafferty with three dozen for intoxication, the Articles of war were also read at the same time to another for a similar offence with the addition of using very mutinous expressions; he still remains confined in irons, and Captain Parker intimated he should try him by a Court-martial, but I hope not, as in such an event the poor culprit would either be sentenced to suffer death or be flogged through the Fleet. Fired a gun to bring to a ship, which was laden with hemp and bound to Lisbon.

October 7th. Weather fine but wind not particularly accommodating. Dined with Captain Parker in company with Mr. Merry, the Ambassador, and his attendants Messrs. Poole (Son to the Secretary at the Admiralty)[1] and Canning. I thought them very gentlemanly men, the latter is very young and was educated at Eton.

9th. From the present date it will appear obvious that no observations were made in this Journal yesterday, for which I will assign a cause briefly by stating that since my entrance into the Navy I do not recollect a more violent gale of wind, although have been cruising during the winter months in the Bay of Biscay. It was so

[1] The Hon. W. Wellesley Pole, an elder brother of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had added the surname Pole in 1778.

Digitized by Google

very tremendous that we dare not shew an inch of canvas, nor would that suffice, for we were obligated to strike yards and topmasts. The sea ran mountains high and the Prometheus lay down to it very much. Her quarter-deck guns were occasionally under water, and we expected the top-gallant masts would have been carried away. What with the roaring of the wind and foaming of the sea, &c., the works of Nature were displayed upon a grand scale. The day proved a very disastrous one with the brittle ware, for glasses, jugs, &c. were largely expended, and once our table was upset with all its contents; 'twas entertaining to hear the frequent crashes from the above causes, and every now and then some unlucky fellow missing his hold would roll down to leeward as if bound upon some secret expedition. Mr. Merry's party experienced some sea sickness which *we* old sailors laugh at. I fortunately never was afflicted with that truly deplorable and I may say *pitiless* complaint. Notwithstanding the violence of the wind, the sun shone with its wonted splendour, and at every spray of the sea exemplified in a beautiful manner the nature and course of the rainbow, by a most brilliant and variegated reflection upon the surface of the water. It is now almost superfluous to add that writing yesterday was utterly impracticable, and it is the first day I have omitted my diurnal insertions. We have now made up for the time lost in the gale by sailing at the rate of nearly 12 knots an hour the whole day. At 6 P.M. came to an anchor off Elsineur castle, where many of our Fleet and transports had arrived from Copenhagen, waiting a fair wind for England.

10th. At 6.30 A.M. got under weigh and

Digitized by Google

brought up again in Copenhagen roads about half past 8 A.M. Shortly afterwards Captain Parker and Mr. Merry went on board the Prince of Wales to wait on Admiral Gambier. The Trusty 50 sailed from Yarmouth with Lord Mulgrave's brother, the Hon^ble^ Augustus Phipps on board with dispatches two days before us; however, we passed her this morning and reached our destination first. We had received orders to take him out in the Prometheus but the Trusty sailing sooner he took his passage in her thinking she would be more expeditious. We understand there has been such a violent gale here as to prevent any communication between the different ships for three days. The suite pertaining to Mr. Merry followed him to the Admiral's ship at 7 this evening. A salute was fired this afternoon to Sir Sam^l^ Hood on hoisting his flag on board the Centaur upon his promotion to the rank of the Rear Admiral of the Blue. The windmill lately our principal battery here has now, to speak technically, got its grinding tacks on board again and can now work without danger of molestation from shells and shots, which materially damaged it during the late dust in this quarter.

October 11th, Sunday. Capt^n.^ Parker breakfasted in the Goliath and afterwards went on shore to Copenhagen. Heard that the Railleur armed sloop had foundered[1] in her passage from hence to England with some of her convoy. This intelligence was communicated by Captain F. Parker of the Curlew who came on board this morning to visit Captain Hyde Parker. He obtained his information from the Master of one of the Transports who told him he saw her go down, so I am apprehensive the fact is too well

[1] She was not lost.

Digitized by Google

founded to admit of a doubt. A signal made to apprise us of an opportunity of sending letters to England, therefore in conformity to custom I addressed one to the East India House just to announce to my brothers our arrival at Copenhagen and to acknowledge the receipt of theirs at Yarmouth. This being the day of Duncan's memorable victory [1] is not passed over in oblivion by the Navy.

October 12th. I have now before me the Danish account of the siege, bombardment and capitulation of Copenhagen, lately published in that City. The following is an abstract from it. 'The private buildings which were burnt are insured in the Fire Insurance Office for about 2,400,000 Rex-dollars, or 500,000 pounds sterling. The Frue Kirke, one of the finest Churches in this country was burnt and destroyed. It was built by Christian the 6th after the great conflagration at Copenhagen in 1728, and its dimensions were 300 feet in length and 50 in height. The steeple was 380 feet high and contained an alarm bell which was 7 feet and 2 inches in diameter, and weighed 11,962 pounds. In this Church were many excellent monuments, as the Mausoleums of the celebrated Danish Admirals Cart Adeler and Count U. C. Gyldenlove.' The gun vessel which blew up on the 27th of August, I am happy to find in the above publication did not contain so many hands as we imagined. Her name was Stulkjobin. The Lieut. and 16 men were saved but 31 were blown [up] and 12 wounded. The explosion was occasioned by one of our grenades. Captain Parker dined on board the Curlew. Supplied the Ringdove brig with several bags of bread and a cask of rum. In the evening had much rain.

[1] October 11, 1797.

Digitized by Google

The supernumeraries we have on board belonging to different ships have proved very light-fingered and steal many things. One was detected in concealing a cheese from the Purser's Steward's room.

13th. Peters was punished with a severe flagellation for improper conduct, being the third time he has been made such an ignominious example. Captain Parker went on shore again and did not return 'till late in the evening. Weather cold but remarkably pleasant otherwise.

14th. Lieut. Setford and myself had obtained leave to visit the City of Copenhagen, which would have been a wonderful luxury to *me*. We had dressed and prepared ourselves accordingly, and were on the verge of setting out when our Captain's signal was made by the Admiral, but not knowing what the result might be, could not with propriety leave the ship 'till his return, when to our very great disappointment he informed us the Prometheus was ordered to officiate as a lighthouse, on the Scaw; there to remain 'till the last ships had passed that dangerous part on their way to England from hence, and that we should proceed thither as soon as our illuminating apparatus came on board. This of course frustrated our intended jaunt to Copenhagen, but the fortunes of war must not be repined at, as such occurrences are very common in the Navy. I had promised myself much pleasure from a prospect of Copenhagen in its present ruinous state. In the evening a man sent from the Trinity House came on board with three immense lamps and about 130 gallons of oil for the same, so that we shall shortly repair to our unpleasant destination. Supped with Capt[n]. Parker as did the rest of our officers.

Digitized by Google

15th. At 2 P.M. got under weigh from Copenhagen and proceeded with a fair wind to Elsineur, whither we arrived about 5 P.M., and let go an anchor. The term of six weeks which was allowed in the Capitulation for the equipment of the Danish ships expires on Monday, so that our troops will be all embarked I suppose on Sunday. A Regiment of the Guards will I understand be the last off the Island.

16th. The wind being unfavourable we are obliged to remain in Elsineur roads 'till it changes. Punished the man alluded to on the 5th inst. with four dozen lashes, which was considered as a lenient correction for the crime he was guilty of; glad he was not tried by a Court martial, as he would I think have been punished through the Fleet, and it would have been my office to have attended the horrid ceremony, rather than which I would almost resign my appointment if by other means I could not evade it. My Journal Memorandums will not now be quite so prolific as during our martial operations at Copenhagen.

17th. At 9 this morning weighed and made sail from Elsineur, but had scarcely traversed two miles before we were forced to put back, the weather being too boisterous and unfair to venture farther out. An armed ship and the Snipe gunbrig passed us with volunteers to Copenhagen.

18th. At 4 this morning hove up the anchor and made another attempt to reach our destination, but have made very little progress during the day, and to me it appears a query whether we must not return to Elsineur again.

19th. Since writing the above my conjectures are verified, for both our pilots having refused to take charge of the ship if kept beating about during the night on so dangerous a coast with a

Digitized by Google

foul wind, Captain Parker has thought it prudent to return to our former anchorage at Elsineur, which we accordingly did at 5 P.M., and I am now in hopes once more of procuring a comfortable night's rest after so much rocking about.

20th. Rather wet and unpleasant, and a man was brought to the Prometheus from some ship which has no surgeon, to receive medical assistance from myself for a very severe scald on his foot. Our Fleet do not appear to have left Copenhagen, but cannot remain there much longer. At 3 the wind became fair and we left Elsineur for the third and last time. I am told His Swedish Majesty is come to Elsinburgh, a town opposite the one above mentioned on the other shore, to view the Danish Fleet as it passes.

October 21st. Came to an anchor at 9 A.M. off the Scaw. There is a fine lighthouse belonging to the Danes, but since the commencement of hostilities with Britain they do not make use of it, which is the reason we are sent to this disagreeable place for the preservation of our Fleet. Near us are the wrecks of three different ships which have been lost here. This being the day of Nelson's last victory, is not forgot by the Trafalgarians, many of whom we have in the Prometheus. In the evening a fleet of merchant-men passed by under convoy from Copenhagen. At dusk lighted one of the lamps sent from the Trinity House and hoisted the same at the larboard main-yard-arm.

22nd. The weather is now very severe, but the wind tolerably good for the Fleet, many of whom we have seen on their passage this day. The same ceremony with regard to the Trinity Light has been observed as yesterday, and whilst we remain here will of course be repeated.

23rd. The Hussar frigate came to us and we

Digitized by Google

were not a little chagrined when she informed us we were to continue on this despicable station 'till the 30th of November, and supplied us with provisions accordingly. This news was discouraging indeed, but Sailors are born for all weathers, and I suspect we shall have our share of bad in this quarter. We are somewhat at a loss how to account for so long a detention on so perilous a situation after our Fleet have gone in. Our prospect to be sure is rather dreary, having before us the whole gloomy month of November and exposed as it were in a state of banishment to the bleak winds so prevalent in this latitude, however to soothe the effects of which Captain Parker has very politely offered the use of his cabin and fire to myself and brother officers, which will be thankfully accepted. When the Hussar first made our signal we all concluded it was to order us to proceed to England. As the Fleet passed Elsinburgh they *all* saluted the King of Sweden, which from the number of the ships had a grand effect. The Neptunus, Danish Line of Battle ship got aground, any further particulars of which I have not heard. She is estimated at 150,000 pounds value. The Sybille has been sent back to her assistance.

24th. The Captain, Master and Pilot went out in the jolly boat for the purpose of sounding, it being nearly a calm. As they approached the shore the inhabitants seemed rather alarmed and got two guns, which it is thought they obtained from some wrecked vessel, to fire at them. There are many fish here, several of which have been caught by our lines, as whiting, &c.

25th Sunday. The Articles of War were read as usual. Passed us with a convoy, the Forrester sloop, had been out from England 10 days but

Digitized by Google

void of news, except what related to Copenhagen, which we are probably better acquainted with than himself. Went on board a vessel belonging to the above convoy with a view of purchasing some eatables, &c., for our mess, but she had nothing but claret and vegetables, neither of which we wanted. Early this morning our Mess Room having been scrubbed out two charcoal stoves were suspended in it in order to dry it, the deleterious effects of which completely unhinged the whole of us for the remainder of the day, by a general distribution of violent headaches, accompanied with considerable languor, &c., the well-known symptoms of sulphurous fumes and obnoxious vapours, a fatal instance of which I believe once occurred at Radway.

October 26th. The wind blowing directly on shore, we got under weigh after breakfast and ran to the other side of the Scaw, where we anchored again in the evening without hazard of drifting on a lee shore. We must be regulated entirely by the wind and shift our berth accordingly. The night being pleasant, I walked the deck all the first Watch i.e. until midnight. We can now always fancy it moonlight, from the lanthorn which hangs at our yard-arm for a lighthouse. During the night it is requisite to keep a vigilant look-out, lest the Danes, who are now much exasperated, should meditate on destruction and send some armed boats to destroy us.

27th. This forenoon saw the Squadron coming from the Belt, which owing to a contrary wind was obliged to come to an anchor not far from the *desolate* Prometheus. At 2 P.M. a cutter came and telegraphed to Captain Parker the following gratifying sentence. "You are posted." I have stated in a former part of this Journal that we

Digitized by Google

expected soon to lose him on promotion, which he certainly merits from his activity in the Prometheus. In the afternoon he went on board the Superb, Admiral (late Commodore) Keates, to learn further particulars, for he had ordered the cutter to communicate the intelligence. It now remains rather doubtful whether a ship will be sent out here to supersede him, or whether he will remain here till the expiration of the term limited in the orders. I am however almost indifferent as to returning to England whilst the weather continues pleasant, in which point it has hitherto exceeded our expectations.

28th. Boarded a Danish sloop laden with wood and iron, but it was thought she would not defray the expense of condemnation if sent as a prize to England, therefore Captain Parker told the Commander of her that he might proceed about his business, which pleased him very much. I felt sorry for the poor Dane, as it would probably have ruined him to have taken his vessel from him. He was extremely thankful on receiving his dismissal.

29th. It blew tremendously hard in the night, and for the safety of the ships we were obliged to veer away more cable. The country round about the Scaw has a very barren appearance. I wish the inhabitants would make use of their lighthouse and give us an opportunity of cruizing, for we may remain here at anchor till Christmas without taking one prize unless they stumble on us fortuitously, which is not very likely from our situation.

30th. Have had a slight fall of snow this morning, a circumstance I never before recollect in this month. I fear it is a kind of prelude to what we may expect ere we quit this solitary

Digitized by Google

station. Punished the Purser's Steward with four dozen for intoxication and wrangling.

31st. Made our number to some English men of war. In the evening the man sent from the Trinity House to attend the lamps was so excessively inebriated as to prevent him doing his duty. He was therefore by the Captain's order committed to irons during the night. Whilst walking the deck in the first watch, I saw the Northern Lights or Milky Way to great advantage.

Nov. 1st. The poor Trinity man being very penitent, and promising that no repetition of his impropriety should occur, was dismissed from his confinement without farther punishment. The crew were mustered as usual (it being Sunday).

Nov. 2nd. An English convoy passed us. Am now employed in transcribing the History of the Siege, Bombardment and Capitulation of Copenhagen from the Danish account, which has occupied my leisure hours occasionally for two or three days. It was my intention to have purchased a few copies of the original pamphlet had I gone into the city. The Danes are much exasperated with the British, and call us a cruel nation. I must say I think their treatment rather harsh, but trust our Government was actuated by laudable and honourable motives for taking the steps they did.

3rd. It now blows a gale of wind but we are tolerably snug at anchor. The Goshawk brig hove in sight and inquired of us by telegraph if we had seen anything of the Alacrity, which we answered in the negative. We know not why she made this interrogation. Finished writing the account of Copenhagen.

4th. Since yesterday the wind has increased and on the whole our situation has become rather

Digitized by Google

critical, for should we chance to part our cable, we must inevitably drift upon the reef, which stretches out a considerable distance from the land. Captain Parker has been so indisposed as to be confined to his cabin these last two or three days. Of course I visit him daily and hope shall shortly be able to pronounce him convalescent. I have now more sickness in the Ship with officers and men than since my appointment to the Prometheus, though am happy to say the majority of my patients are on the mending order. We had understood prior to our arrival off the Scaw, that occasionally we should be extremely uncomfortable, and that the sea would break over us continually. At the present crisis it nearly corresponds to that description. On the day Sir Richard Strachan's action was fought,[1] in which my old ship the Hero had 12 men killed and 52 wounded, during the time I belonged to her, I cut a cannister shot out of one of her top-gallant masts, that was fired in the above engagement, and which I now have in my possession as I am rather curious in these matters.

November 5th. The weather is now become tolerably fine and moderate. This being the anniversary of Gunpowder plot, had we have been in an English port should have fired a salute of 17 guns to commemorate the same. I daresay those of the Tower have not been silent in London. No doubt the morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells, but with regard to fireworks and explosions, I suspect none will surpass those recently exhibited at Copenhagen, which were truly natural, the others perhaps may be termed artificial. The Goshawk got under weigh for England, but not having apprised us by signal

[1] Nov. 4, 1805.

Digitized by Google

where she was bound 'till just before she made sail, of course we are debarred from the privilege of writing letters to send by her.

6th. Have been busily employed this morning in making alterations in my cabin, for 'till now I have slept on a standing bed-place, which in bad weather is excessively uncomfortable from the motion of the ship. I have therefore with much trouble removed that inconvenience and got a nice cot rigged out with all the various appendages and shall now, independent of the benefit I hope to reap whilst reposing in the arms of Somnus, have more room to exercise my ingenuity in decorating my *House* with what ornaments I can muster—as German Flute, Danish Pistols, &c. The weather still continues at intervals very unpleasant, especially during the night.

7th. Captain Parker has very humanely given a sheep for the use of the sick, some of whom at this period stand more in need of fresh nutritious food than medicine. This is however by no means the first time Captain Parker has exercised his humanity to this class of individuals, for he has desired me always to order of his steward whatever I may consider serviceable to them, as soup, wine, etc. I hope I am not altogether forgetful of them myself, although my abilities in this respect are frequently very limited. The pleasures I had anticipated yesterday from a good night's rest were not unfounded, for my new cot fully answered my expectations. From its suspension like a hammock of course it swings with the ship upon the same principles, and obviates that disagreeable sensation already complained of.

Sunday 8th. The ship's company are ordered to rig out in their best clothes and were mustered accordingly. Our sea-stock of provisions being

Digitized by Google

exhausted, with the exception of some pickled tripe, we were reduced to the necessity of having recourse to a regular standing sailor's dish, viz., salt beef, commonly called salt-junk. It is now five weeks since we left England, therefore I think we have contrived pretty well not to make use of the ship's allowance before.

9th. Have been obliged to veer away more cable this morning owing to the weather being very squally. It is almost superfluous for me to state that we perceive the cold increase upon us daily. Still its effects are in some measure lessened by some hot punch which we have daily after dinner, and a glass of mulled wine made pleasant with spice just before we retire to rest. Although it is the object of us all to make comfort our principal study, yet I flatter myself moderation and temperance are not more observed in any gun-room in the Navy than that of the Prometheus. Possibly this is not the case in the present hour (10 P.M.) with many of our London citizens, especially those who have been gormandizing with the Lord Mayor at Guildhall. It is also customary on this day for the different Companies to dine at their respective Halls, so that the allusion is not quite confined to His Lordship's or Alderman Turtle's Party, none of whom I envy, for we all know hunger is the best sauce, and thank God I am seldom deficient in my appetite.

November 10th. One of the boys that waits on us was this morning detected in carrying his hat full of vegetables from our store room, which we now have reason to suppose he has been in the habit of doing frequently, as we have long noticed a much larger expenditure of different articles than could possibly result from our own consumption. This discovery will prove of utility

Digitized by Google

to us, and the punishment inflicted for the offence will not I hope be unprofitable to the aggressor. These poor boys are distributed from the Marine Society to the different ships in the Navy, and it does not appear the design of that Institution to bestow on them any further education than what relates to seamanship alone, for none of them in the Prometheus can read or write. I think they are much to be pitied, as from being sent to sea extremely young they undergo many hardships.

11th. A wet unpleasant morning. There are many gulls continually hovering about the ship, some of which we have endeavoured to shoot but without success. This evening our boatswain's mate fell from the fire-deck into the fore-hold and suffered considerable contusion.

12th. Not having specified in this journal the manner in which I employ my time, it may not be amiss just to recount under one general sketch the regular routine of a day. I usually arise soon after 7 in a morning, which allows me time to make necessary adjustments prior to breakfast. This meal is brought to table about 8. Precisely at 9 I order the Sick Bell to be rang, which assembles the invalids into the cockpit, where I have a small apartment fitted up for my dispensary. Officers of course do not attend to this summons, for them I visit at their respective cabins or berths. My professional avocation in a morning seldom exceeds more than an hour, so that about 10 I give in my daily report to the Captain respecting any alteration that may have taken place in my sick list. This being accomplished, should the weather permit, I make a practice of walking the deck for the benefit of the air, after which I retire below and amuse myself variously (agreeable to inclination) either in

Digitized by Google

reading, writing, or practising the Flute. At 12 we commonly take a lunch and then I resume my employment 'till the hour of dinner which is 2. This repast, with what may be termed its appendages generally occupies us till 4. I now revisit the quarter deck and frequently remain there 'till the sound of the bell recalls my attention to the cockpit, when, having administered to my patients what I conceive necessary for their various complaints, it is nearly 6 o'clock which is our tea time. On the conclusion of this refreshment, provided no obstacle intervene, I sit down and commit to paper my observations for the day, after which I recommence some one of the recreations stated above. With regard to supper, we have no regular establishment, consequently take it or not, as we feel disposed. I always accustom myself to a stroll on deck the last thing at night, the longitude of which is totally dependent on the pleasantness of the evening, so that I almost invariably repair to bed between the hours of 10 and 12. This finishes my quotidian career, in which however I have made no allowance for the numerous casualties that are perpetually occurring. I have often had it in meditation to allot a certain portion of time to particular occasions, and to proceed as it were by clockwork, but that plan is constantly subverted and almost impracticable from being under the influence of so many causes and occurrences. I therefore endeavour as much as possible to avoid indolence. I hope my leisure hours are not unprofitably spent. Captain Parker having now in a great measure recovered from his indisposition invited the Purser and myself to take wine and tea with him, after being unable to see company for more than a fortnight.

13th. During the early part of this morning

Digitized by Google

Lieut. Setford was attacked with a fit whilst in his cot, and on the return of sensibility found himself extended on the deck of his cabin, where from his state of frigidity he supposes he must have remained a considerable time. This case is certainly a very remarkable one, as the patient never [was] subject to fits before. Dined with the Captain for the first time since his illness. He received his classical education at Winton College, which gave me an opportunity of conversing with him respecting Winchester Cathedral, the extreme antiquity of which I have frequently heard of, and it was verified by Captain Parker's description.

14th. A supernumerary underwent the punishment of flagellation for stealing two bottles of rum. It is a proverbial saying in the Navy that you might as well place a lighted candle in the magazine as grog in the way of a Sailor. No doubt the situation of either would be critical. The weather is now become very frosty and piercing.

15th, Sunday. As it is a regular custom to muster the ship's company on this day, I shall not for the future make any note of it, concluding such an event will be taken as granted unless something particular prevent. The Spencer 74 passed by from Copenhagen, with whom we exchanged numbers by signal. It is by this means we are enabled to take the names of any ships at a tolerable distance, all Captains being supplied with an alphabetical list for that purpose.

November 16th. We look forward with much pleasure to the 30th inst., on which day our banishment as we justly nominate it expires, and we almost calculate the days with that anxiety which schoolboys do prior to a vacation. Captain

Digitized by Google

Parker, whilst a Lieutenant, received a honorary reward of a sword from the Patriotic Fund value £50 for his gallantry in assisting to cut out and destroy 19 vessels of different descriptions up the Mediterranean; 9 boats were employed on the occasion and 27 men killed and wounded, but the object completely effected.

17th. A cutter appeared making towards us this morning, and we were in hopes was coming to bring us letters, but *they* were soon frustrated by seeing her put about and stand off in a different direction. Scarcely a day passes without affording us a sight of two or three ships, none of which come near us, in fact their own safety dictates them otherwise, as we are stationed on the most dangerous part of the coast to warn vessels of their danger. Was waked up between 12 and 1 this morning to see the carpenter, who was attacked with a violent pain about the chest. Previous to my visitation he had swallowed a glass of rum and pepper as a palliative. This remedy I of course objected to and strictly forbid a repetition of the dose; notwithstanding injunction, being troubled with a relapse this evening he drank off a glass of gin and pepper to try the virtue of those, but soon being convinced of its inefficacy, sent to me again and promised in future not to deviate from my advice. Was I to give spirits medicinally should soon have the whole ship's company in my sick list.

19th. Had a heavy fall of snow this morning which lay three or four inches thick on the deck and was shovelled overboard by the men. The hills on shore from being covered with the same assume a very winterly aspect, especially as they are naturally bleak and barren. Two of our men, viz.: Peters and Griffiths, were punished for

Digitized by Google

indolence, the former is almost incorrigible and received four dozen lashes, the latter not being so notorious had only half the number. Some of our crew have lately met with accidents, though not of a very serious nature.

20th. It has been blowing a tremendous gale the whole of the day accompanied with snow. Our officers assert they never experienced so heavy a sea at anchor before, and much apprehension has been entertained for the safety of our cable, for should it part now we are off a lee shore, the consequences must be bad in the extreme. At night saw a light of some magnitude at Scaw Town, which somewhat resembled the old lighthouse from its situation.

21st. All hands were called on deck this morning and remained there until 8, owing to an increase of the storm. The Captain was in momentary expectation of the cable parting and men were stationed with hatchets to cut away the sheet and small bower anchors immediately on the occurrence of such an event; and had they not brought us up, nothing could have saved us from the reef. In consequence of the fatigue and cold which the men have undergone from the above circumstance, Captain Parker has spliced the main brace as it is technically termed, i.e. given them an extra allowance of grog at his own expense. At 2 P.M., since writing the above, all hands were turned up as the ship [was] found to be driving, and on running upon deck heard the Captain say she had dragged half a mile and was fast approaching the reef. It was now deemed useless to let go other anchors as the gale appeared increasing. No time was therefore to be lost, and the only resource left was to cut the cable and make sail. This being done our fate depended on the way which the

Digitized by Google

ship's head turned in going about, for had she cast inshore instead of out we could not have weathered the reef. During the confusion our boatswain's mate had one finger crushed off and another materially injured. Every man was on the alert, invalids as well as others. We think ourselves lucky this did not happen in the night, in which case it is the universal opinion that the Prometheus would have been added to the wrecks already here. We are now standing out till the weather moderates. Dined with Captain Parker, and during dinner the candles were twice carried off the table from the motion of the ship, leaving us in total darkness. The Captain told me he wished some of the Bond Street loungers had been with us to-day, as it would have brought them to their senses, if they possessed any.

22nd. The weather is now become much more favourable, but it is a matter of ambiguity whether we can regain our station. At present we are not within sight of land, and should the gale return shall probably put into Gottenburgh. Last night was the first we have omitted lighting the Trinity lamp since the 21st ulto.

23rd. The quantity of bread (or biscuit) on board being very scanty we are reduced to the proportion of half allowance per man, commencing this day. However, as we hope to be in England in a fortnight, do not much care about it. Fired a gun to bring to a ship, which hoisted Russian colours. At 3 P.M. let go an anchor about the same spot where we brought up on our first cruising to the Scaw, so that the reef is now to windward again.

24th. Spliced the main brace in the afternoon. At 8 P.M. a brig which we had seen in the early part of the evening burnt a blue light which we

Digitized by Google

supposed was a signal to her convoy. Whilst walking the deck in the first watch saw a brilliant light near the shore possibly occasioned by some fishermen.

25th. Our Jolly boat was sent on shore to procure some sand. A master's mate and pilot attended her; not knowing what kind of a reception they might meet with from the Danes, in case they should see any, fire arms were taken for safety. Our men, however, encountered no inconvenience as they only saw a party of fishermen who were somewhat alarmed and offered them fish gratuitously, which of course they did not accept, but took them at a fair valuation. Our people solicited them to bring things off to the ship for sale under promise of sustaining no injury, which they declined stating that by so doing they might incur the displeasure of the officer or Governor of the adjoining town, but said they would bring eggs butter and other necessaries down to the beach if we would send there for them.

26th. Boarded a packet bound to Gottenburgh. Had left England a week, but furnished us with no news. A convoy of 50 or 60 sail passed by to the westward. At 1 the hands were turned up to punish the armourer in consequence of a loaded musket going off and lodging its contents in the mainmast, but on enquiry into the case it did not appear altogether occasioned by his neglect. He was therefore reprieved. At 2 the Jolly boat went on shore with the Purser, a midshipman and 5 men for sand and to purchase refreshments. At 3 perceived with a glass the men had left her so made signal for them to come on board and shortly after fired two guns to enforce the same, but still saw nothing of the boat's crew. This proving

Digitized by Google

inefficient we pointed a gun towards the spot and discharged a round shot, which not seeing fall in the water have reason to suppose reached the shore. However no attention was paid to it. Therefore the cutter with a master's mate and crew was despatched after her, as we strongly suspected the men were made prisoners. About 8 burnt a blue light for the cutter to return, she having been gone three hours. Soon after this observed a skirmish with musketry between our own men and those of the shore and immediately fired a gun and burnt another blue light. Between 9 and 10 the cutter arrived, but to our surprise her officer and Comeley, the Captain's coxswain, were taken prisoners as well as those who went in the Jolly boat. This astonished us greatly as very particular orders had been given for no man to quit the last boat, which unfortunately had not been attended to, though no doubt from good motives. Captain Parker's steward was included in the first party, he having gone at his own request to purchase things for his master. None of our men in the cutter were wounded, although the shots went through her sails, nor did they cease firing at the Danes until their ammunition was expended. Some of the rascals spoke broken English and jeeringly called to our sailors to go on shore and assist their comrades. The object of their mission, viz., that of bringing off the Jolly boat could not be effected. Prior to the departure of my messmate, the Purser, he was uncommonly assiduous in persuading me to accompany him and shoot gulls whilst the men were getting sand, and for which purpose he took a gun with him, but I having considerable employment on board declined without giving it a thought. The weather being very cold I advised him to take my great coat which he accepted, and I am glad

Digitized by Google

he did, for if he remain a prisoner he will find it very serviceable. As we have lost some of our best hands, Captain Parker is determined to try the virtue of a Flag of Truce to-morrow, and represent to them the frequent opportunities he could have availed himself of in annoying their Fishing Vessels, &c., had he felt disposed, and see whether they are inclined to give up the men. At 11 P.M. two lights were seen on the beach.

27th. At 8 this morning Lieut. Setford and a midshipman, &c., proceeded on shore with the Flag of Truce to endeavour to regain our people, but being in doubt whether in so cold and desolate a place as the Scaw, the nature of a Truce might be understood, they were desired to keep pulling alongshore till from certain signals and manœuvres they were fully satisfied no harm could accrue from approaching near. During this interval we kept an anxious look out with glasses, and at length discerned a man step out of the boat with the letter, who was afterwards led blindfolded towards the town. At this period we heard a bell ringing at the Church and saw some soldiers knocking up a sentry box on a contiguous hill. The boat had now waited upwards of four hours without a prospect of our man's returning, so we made her signal to come on board. Not long afterwards we perceived a wagon being drawn down to a boat and some soldiers, &c., in it who came off to the Prometheus with another Flag of Truce bringing with them the man detained in the morning. The officer was a curious looking fellow, apparently not higher than an Ensign. He had a long conference with Captain Parker through the medium of a private soldier, whom he brought with him for an interpreter, but said it was out of his power to return the prisoners. However

Digitized by Google

promised that if a boat was sent to the lighthouse at 8 to-morrow morning Captain P.'s servant should be restored. Had just commenced dinner with the Captain when we heard a man crying out in a most woeful manner, and upon going upon deck found it was occasioned by a person who had fallen overboard, where he remained a short time, but was afterwards hauled in with a rope. As no one saw him disappear and it was just dark, he narrowly escaped drowning.

28th. At ½ past 7 this morning the cutter was sent according to agreement toward the appointed spot, but owing to an immense surf could not attain it, so returned. At 2 P.M. the Alacrity brig came near us and Captain Parker went on board. She had despatches for the Vanguard, and although just sailed from England had no news to communicate of any importance. She told us that an East India ship had been captured by a privateer in an irregular manner, the particulars of which must have been mentioned in the papers. The account we heard conveyed an indifferent opinion of the crew of the East Indiaman for being so easily duped. Our quarter deck now resembles a sheet of ice, as it is covered with a kind of sleet which makes walking very uncomfortable.

29th. The surf having considerably subsided, sent off the cutter to repeat the message of yesterday, but contrary to promise the villains rejected the Truce, and would not suffer our boat to land. This much enraged Captain Parker, who declared he would fetch the Jolly boat off in spite of them notwithstanding they had dragged her on the beach high and dry. We therefore got under weigh without loss of time, and stood in as close as the water would allow and came to an

Digitized by Google

anchor, having first cleared a way for action and loaded all our guns with grape and cannister shot. Lieut. Setford was now sent with the cutter well armed to recover the Jolly boat, the Prometheus standing broadside on to cover and protect them should they be molested. However, the Danes knew better than to interfere and expose themselves to our fire, so that the boat was brought off in triumph without opposition by our persevering Tars. Her sails, oars, &c., were pillaged and a hole had been stove in her. Capt[n]. Parker had nearly resolved to fire into the town but afterwards thinking it might be the instigation of ill usage to the prisoners, relinquished the idea. It is still a matter of much doubt and conjecture how the jolly boat's crew were taken, though we surmise that the Purser imprudently visited the town to get a supply of the articles which the ship stands much in need of and which belong to his department, as candles, &c., and when once the alarm was given it was a very easy matter to take the remainder by surprise. Had they remained near the boat it could not well have happened. After hoisting in the cutter and jolly boat, the guns were secured and the anchor hove up for good, our time as a light-house being expired within a day, so that we are now steering for England with a fair wind. The late unfortunate business rather damps our spirits, as we are sorry to leave our shipmates behind to the mercy of those barbarians. We feel particularly anxious for one of them who was a Dane and had entered into the English service. He had likewise been employed on the preceding day as an interpreter with the fishermen. I hope they have not found out we were employed as a fireship at Copenhagen. The situation of Captain Parker is in consequence

Digitized by Google

of the above become peculiarly perplexing, being deprived of a very trusty steward who had lived in the family for years, and a most excellent coxswain, independent of the inconvenience resulting from the loss of the Purser, who since his clerk left him on promotion at Copenhagen, had arranged his papers and accounts, &c. The former had with him all the Captain's keys.

30th. This day we have been looking forward to for this last five weeks, knowing that it was appointed for our departure to the land of roast beef, although we took the advantage of a favourable breeze and made sail yesterday whilst we were already under weigh. At 9 A.M. fired a gun to bring to a vessel which was a Gottenburgh packet. We are now (10 P.M.) nearly 200 miles from the Promethian exiles at the Scaw. I presume they have ere this learnt that we have made our exit from that despicable station.

December 1st. Punished two men with two dozen each for being below in their watch. During last night we had a calm for nearly five hours, which in the North Sea at this season of the year is I am told ominous of a gale of wind. It being necessary to present to the Port Admiral on our arrival in England, a copy of the ship's log from the time of leaving Copenhagen, I have volunteered my services to Captain Parker to transcribe the same, for reasons which I have recently stated, viz., there being no regular scribe on board at this crisis.

December 2nd. The whole of this day we have been much incommoded by a violent wind and heavy sea, accompanied with frequent squalls. We pity the state of our men who are unavoidably worked extremely hard and very inadequately fed, for we are deficient in several articles of provisions,

Digitized by Google

as well as bread, owing to a negligent look out of our unfortunate Purser's in not completing the ship with her proper complement of stores. In the evening the main brace was spliced with cognac brandy belonging to the Captain, which keeps up their spirits under their present emergencies. He is a most considerate, liberal character and has the comfort of his ship's company much at heart, whose wants he endeavours to alleviate as much as possible. In consequence of losing those men at the Scaw he takes charge of the first watch at night himself with a view of rendering the duty less oppressive to the other officers. The little Prometheus is now encountering a true winter's North Sea gale, which has increased very considerably since the morning and promises us a most turbulent unpleasant night, placing the idea of sleep quite out of the question.

December 3rd. The opinion I advanced last night with regard to the weather was I knew too well founded to be erroneous. On the contrary what I then prognosticated has been rather exceeded for I never knew the ship lay down to it so much before, or roll heavier than she has these last twelve hours. The pumps have been working continually, and in the middle watch we had four feet water in the hold, which however is attributable to never having been thoroughly caulked, otherwise the Prometheus is a most excellent seaboat and not naturally leaky. At 4 this morning the starboard quarter gallery was stove in by a sea, which completely flooded the captain's cabin and made it knee deep in water to leeward. The noise of it rushing to and fro soon awoke the Captain, who of course ordered necessary arrangements immediately. One of our pilots asserts that the ship was absolutely water-logged this

Digitized by Google

morning, though I fancy he laboured under a mistake. I was almost the only officer who was not thrown out of his cot during last night from the great motion of the ship. We have now however, I hope, nearly weathered the storm, as the wind and sea have much abated, and the prospect on the whole appears more enlightened. Had old Mr. Merry been on board now and sleeping in his standing bedplace in the cabin as was his custom, he must inevitably have been washed out, which would have afforded no small diversion to all but himself, as I am inclined to think he might perhaps have been too cold to have enjoyed or entered much into the fun, for in my opinion although his country's zeal may have been great it would scarcely have kept him warm in such a frigid situation. He was likewise rather nervous, but whether that would prove in his favour or not, I leave others to judge. On such an occurrence I should not be much surprised had he considered it as bordering upon one of the miseries of sea-life. He was an arch, though at the same time I believe a gentlemanly and clever man.

December 4th. The weather is now become tolerably moderate and fine, and there is no doubt but we shall see England again in the course of a few hours after an absence of two months. Have dined or drank wine with Capt^n. Parker nearly every day since our mishap at the Scaw. He keeps an excellent table and this day sported some champagne on the strength of making British land. He is fond of celebrating particular days, for which I commend him. Being a man of fortune, he has without exception the most complete and elegant service of plate I ever beheld, which was left him by his father, Ad^l. Sir Hyde Parker. At 4 P.M. let go an anchor in 21

Digitized by Google

fathoms a few miles from Lowestoft, and in the neighbourhood of Solebay, where the Red Flag at the main was formerly stolen by the Dutch, and has not till lately been rehoisted again,[1] which was done by Cornwallis in the Channel. We may now think of apprising our friends of our arrival, &c., and as I have imposed upon myself the painful duty of communicating by letter to the father of my late messmate the Purser (who resides in town) the disagreeable intelligence of his son's imprisonment, it behoves me to lose no time in penning the same, which shall certainly be framed in the most consolatory style I am capable of and transmitted with one of his own which he had written a few days prior to being taken. The disappointment will undoubtedly be great, as I believe he had informed his father he should possibly take his Xmas dinner in London. As we are all here interested in the Copenhagen business it cannot excite much admiration when I state that we feel a little anxious to know whether any final determination has transpired respecting the prize-money for the same. We fear the Transports did not make so good a passage home as the men of war.

December 5th. At 10 A.M. got under weigh and as the wind is very foul for us we must beat up as well as we can by frequently tacking and making to windward. Whilst Captain Parker was this afternoon endeavouring to put the ship about, she missed stays three times successively, which trick the Prometheus had never before been guilty of. It was afterwards found requisite to wear her. As we traverse along the Coast we

[1] The rank of 'Admiral of the Red' was created in November 1805 as a compliment to the Navy after Trafalgar; the statement about the Dutch is nonsense.

Digitized by Google

shew our number (1005) to the different Signal Posts thereon. Towards dusk came to an anchor off Orfordness, where there are two good light-houses.

December 6th, Sunday. It is a most charming day; but are much in want of a North wind, which makes me suspect that Prometheus and Boreas are not on the most amiable terms, the latter having paid no kind of attention to the numerous invocations of the former. At 5 P.M. brought up again in the Swin. Am informed by a messmate of poor Simmonds, a master's mate, who fell into the hands of the Danes at the Scaw, that amongst his memorandums he had bequeathed his sword to me, had he fallen at Copenhagen. He was educated at the Mathematical School, Christ's Hospital, and I had just conducted him through a month's very serious indisposition. His father is an old Lieut. at Haslar Hospital, with whom I had some conversation when last there. He expected his son would have been promoted after serving his time, which would have been completed in 5 or 6 months as he was in Trafalgar and two or three other actions.

December 7th. Fortunately the wind is at last become favourable, so that we made sail at daylight and reached our destination the Little Nore at 1, soon after which Captain P. paid his respects to Admiral Wells and remained on shore the best part of the day. My time having been wholly occupied 'till this evening by officiating as Captain P.'s Secretary, has totally prevented me from writing any letters of my own before. However, I have now with some little difficulty scribbled three, viz., expressed in sympathetic terms to Mr. Hornblow, father of our late Purser; another to my mother, and a third to my brothers

Digitized by Google

in London, in the last of which I stated my intention of transmitting this almost immediately, but by way of obtaining an early answer to the same, said I should wait the receipt of one from them before I dispatched it and for the same reason wound up their curiosity to as high a pitch as I could with regard to the contents of this Diary. I hope they will not be disappointed in consequence, that being repugnant to my intention. As yet have had no communication with the shore, so are just as much in the dark with regard to news as when at the Scaw.

8th. At 11 A.M. Captain P. came on board accompanied by three other Captains to breakfast and gave us the rumours of the day. His opinion of the Copenhagen prize-money did not discourage us. He told us the Boreas was last off Guernsey. At 1 he returned on shore, having first desired us in his usual liberal manner to make what use we chose of his cabin and fire. He told us to live in it altogether if we pleased and said he had ordered his Steward to supply us with what wine we wanted, which we can return when we procure more, as he knows our stock is exhausted. His offer we have gladly accepted, and I now write this by his fire-side, whilst the quarter-deck is covered tolerably deep with snow. I have not suffered so much from chilblains since I left Rigby as I do at present, which I attribute to the intolerable cold station we have just left.

9th. Went on board the Sybille frigate to attend a survey on the boatswain of that ship, who is rendered incapable of active service from a gunshot wound. There are a great many ships here. I detest Sheerness worse than any port I know. We understand a Captain Croft who was

Digitized by Google

1st Lieut. in the Orion at Trafalgar is appointed to supersede Captain Parker. We do not much admire the idea of a revolution in the Prometheus.

10th. Captn. P. again made his appearance, this forenoon but knew not any particulars respecting the probable time we are likely to continue here. In the afternoon Lieut. Setford and myself repaired on shore to recruit our mess articles, &c., purchase newspapers and Steel's List, and returned on board to supper. Received two letters, one from my mother written in September, the other from my brothers in London dated 10 inst., mentioning Mr. Broadwood's present of a pianoforte to my sister, which presentation I had promised myself the pleasure of hereafter if it had not been received from the above quarter. At 12 Mr. Hornblow arrived from town to settle the affairs of his son, the Purser. He informed us that when his wife read my letter she instantly fainted, being the first instance of the kind he had ever witnessed since he knew her. At first interview we apprehended the old man was much affected but after regaling him with a good dinner and a moderate quantum of wine and punch, his strain was materially altered. At his urgent request we took several useless things belonging to his son into our mess, and paid the full price for the same in ready cash. Still he thought proper to decamp without refunding to any of us, debts which his son had contracted. Moreover, he enquired what sort of a wardrobe his son had with him when taken, and some person present stated his having my great coat, for which he *generously* offered a paltry donation worth about half a guinea, but that of course I *gratefully*

Digitized by Google

declined, telling him I hoped his son might profit by the loan. We flatter ourselves with the pleasing idea of having treated him in the most gentlemanly manner, which he seemed fully aware of, and makes his conduct appear the more extraordinary.

12th. I yesterday finished a letter to Admiral Chambers, Rigby, to whom I am indebted for the situation I now possess. Our sister ship the Lightning is now here, being just arrived from a station similar and near to that we have lately left. In the gales she once parted with three anchors ahead. She also like ourselves acted as a light-ship. Was much delighted this day by the receipt of an answer to my mother's letter, which informed me of her welfare, together with that of my Radway friends. A new Captain's Clerk joined us from the Namur guardship here.

14th. Captain P. came on board and told us we were ordered to proceed up the harbour, there to undergo our necessary repairs. From his account we may expect to remain at this miserable port some time, as there are an unusual number of ships in the same predicament with ourselves, consequently the various artificers and workmen are fully employed. I never wish a ship to which I belong to remain inactive in harbour, from the obvious disadvantages attendant thereon.

15th. Unmoored and got under weigh and came to an anchor at our appointed berth about 10 A.M., after having been much incommoded by a fog. I expect we shall not remove again 'till ready for sea. Observed in a print shop at Sheerness several English and Danish accounts of the siege of Copenhagen, so that my own transcript which caused me much trouble will now possibly prove uninteresting owing to our late

Digitized by Google

arrival. However, I trust the Will may suffice for the Deed. *Palmam qui meruit ferat.*

December 20th. As my time is now fully employed by various occupations I must omit journalizing for the present. Captain Parker was superseded by a Captain Croft on the 18th inst. We are all sorry he has left us, for he was a fine enterprizing little fellow. He shook us cordially by the hand on his departure and wished us success. I therefore conclude this Journal with Captain Parker's reign in the Prometheus.

C. CHAMBERS.

We the undersigned being officers of His Majesty's Ship Prometheus, having perused the foregoing History written by Mr. Charles Chambers Surgeon of the said ship, do vouch for the authenticity of its contents as they came under our immediate observation.

Prometheus, 4th day of January, 1808, in Sheerness Harbour.

JA^{s}. SETFORD, 1st Lieut.
O. OWENS, Master.
JAMES ANKER, Purser.

Digitized by Google

INDEX

(*N.B.—The ranks and titles indicated against the names of naval officers are the highest attained by them at the latest date at which they are mentioned.*)

ADAMS (Captain R.N.), 338
Addington, Henry (Lord Sidmouth), 193, 196
Adeler, C. (Admiral), 436
Admiral, Lord High, jurisdiction of, 311
Admiralty: Nelson complains of lack of information from, 177–8; abolition of salute in narrow seas, 289
Africa, coast of, 51, 260, 268
Aix-la-Chapelle, 289, 291
Albemarle, Duke of (Admiral), 3, 5, 27
Alcester, 423
Aldborough, 7
Allen, Sir Thomas (Admiral), 11, 14, 39–41
All Saints, Bay of, 258
Amack Island, 403
America, 59, 64, 69, 72, 76–8, 180
America, South, 202
Amsterdam, 19–20, 38, 104
Angola, coast of, 265, 267, 270
Anker (General), 283
Ankers, Mr. (Clerk), 423, 466
Antigua, 70, 187, 189–90
Aquitaine, 311
Arbuthnot (Captain), 278
Argyll, Duke of, 91, 118
Army: regiments embarked for Cape (1805), 208, 225; detachments recaptured from French, 272
Atlantic Ocean, 357, 361
Auchmuty, Sir S. (General), 196
Austria, 317

BAFFINS BAY, 359
Baird, Sir David (Major-General), at Cape, 196, 198–9, 205–7, 213–4, 219, 228, 230–1, 239–41, 243, 246, 250–2, 257, 262; instructions to, 207, 220; general order by, 248; at Copenhagen, 403
Ball, Sir Alex. (Captain R.N.), 180
Baltic, 59, 64, 374
Bankert (Vice-Admiral), 11
Bar (Capitaine), 97
Barbados, 79, 174, 182, 184, 186, 188, 201, 279
Barbuda, 174
Barcelona, 175, 177
Barham, Lord (Admiral), 182, 213, 216, 290, 326
Baro Sound, 367
Barrère (French Minister), 157
Barrow, John (Secretary of Admiralty), 216–7, 329
Batavia, 218, 264
Bathurst, Earl (Secretary of State), 293, 316
Bazeley, John (Captain R.N.), 159

Digitized by Google

BEACHY HEAD
Beachy Head, 36
Beaufort, Duc de, 39, 42–3
Bellasis (Bellasyse), John (Captain R.N.), 18
Belle Isle, 35, 92, 96–7
Belt, the, 380, 415, 419, 441
Belt, the Little, 414
Bengal, 222
Berar, Rajah of, 220
Beresford, W. C. (Brigadier-General), 198–200, 231, 241, 249, 259–62
Berthier (General), 391
Bevan, Rowland (Lieut. R.N.), 157
Bickerton, Sir Richard (Rear-Admiral), 179–80
Bingham (Captain R.A.), 372
Birch (Captain E.I.C.), 234
Biscay, Bay of, 110 11, 272, 433
Black Sea, 176, 179
Blaikie, Dr. W. B., 85, 89, 99
Blake, Robert (Admiral), 40–1; letters to Admiral Mountagu, 333
Blankenburg, 29
Blueberg, 199
Blueberg Bay, 240
Bolckow, Mr., 341
Bolingbroke, Viscount, 304
Bombay, 219, 221
Bonaparte, Jérome, 201, 274
Bonne Anse, 92
Bordeaux, 268
Borrodale, 85
Boulogne, 73, 392
Bouvet, Monsieur, 352, 354
Bouvet Island, 352, 354
Bradshaw, Thos., 356
Brazil, 198, 234, 279, 283, 344
Breda, Treaty of, 297, 304
Brest, 42–3, 58, 95, 97, 125–6, 132, 134, 139, 150–3, 175, 178, 187, 200–1, 273, 279, 281, 314
Brett, Sir Peircy (Vice-Admiral), 91, 101, 103, 113–4, 116, 346, 350

CAPE TOWN
Brettel (Capitaine), 275
British Seas, 297–9
Broadwood, Mr., 464
Broglie, M.de (French Minister), 306
Brown, Mr. (Master attendant), 282
Browne, Henry (Captain R.N.), 20
Brownrigg (Colonel), 241
Bucknill, S., 428
Burchett, John (Secretary of Admiralty), 304
Burton, Dr., 89, 101
Butterfield, W. (Captain R.N.), 223, 239, 244
Byng, George (Captain R.N.), 244, 249, 250
Byron, John (Captain R.N.), 351

CABENDE BAY, 263
Cabende Roads, 268
Cadiz, 181–2, 190, 328, 333, 336, 338
Caffraria, 260
Calais, 32, 39, 43, 72–73, 311
Calcutta, 219, 221
Callow (Master M.S.), 254–5
Cameron, Duncan, 87–9, 98–100
Cameron (Captain E.I.C.), 244
Campbell, Colin (Captain), 374, 423
Campeachy, 65
Camp's Bay, 246
Canaries, 201, 357
Canning, Stratford, 433
Cape of Good Hope, 349, 351–2, 354, 357; capture of, 193–285; castle, 245–6, 248, 253; Nelson on value of, 193; Pitt on do., 194; restoration of, in 1803, 195; terms of capitulations, 246, 252
Cape Town, 197, 199, 200, 246, 248, 253, 256

Digitized by Google

CAREW

Carew, T. (Lieut. R.N.), 250
Carolina, 70, 78
Carrol, Thos., 374
Carteret, P. (Captain R.N.), 351
Carthagena, 181–2
Castlereagh, Viscount (Secretary of State), 219, 222, 238, 289, 291, 316–7, 322, 324; letters to Admiralty on expedition to Cape, 205–13; instructions to Sir D. Baird, 207, 220
Castro, Monsieur de, 271
Cathcart, Lord (General), 317–8 322, 381, 400, 405, 412–3, 422
Cattegat, 376
Cawsand Bay, 114
Caye St. Louis, 94
Centry Redoubt, 252
Ceylon, 194, 229
Chack, Paul (Capitaine), 88
Chambers, Charles (Surgeon R.N.), 367–466
Chambers, William (Rear-Admiral), 367, 465
Champain, W. B. (Captain R.N.), 188
Channel, 28, 35, 37–8, 43, 103, 139, 141–2, 145, 147, 150–1, 154, 174, 299, 304, 306, 309
Channel Fleet, operations in 1779, 123–54
Charles II, 296–7
Charles Edward, Prince, 85–9, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 116–7
Chrétien, Joseph, 174, 189
Christian VI, 436
Christopher (Captain E.I.C.), 244
Chronometers, 237
Circumcision, Cape, 352, 354
Clarges, Sir Thomas, 34
Clerke, C. (Captain R.N.), 357, 363–4
Cochin, 194
Cochrane (Lieut. R.N.), 244

CURTIS

Cochrane, Hon. Alexander F. I. (Rear-Admiral), 173, 279, 281; letters from Nelson, 177–80, 182–5, 188; observations to Nelson on objects of combined fleet, 187
Colbert (French Minister), 302
Colchester, 213
Collingwood, C. (Vice-Admiral), 174
Collins, Henry (Captain R.N.), 124, 130
Concarneau, 201
Congreve, William: rockets at Copenhagen, 394–5, 398, 401, 407, 410
Contraband trade: English in America, 65
Cook, James (Captain R.N.), instructions for his three voyages, 339–64
Cope, Sir John, 91, 118
Copenhagen, 264, 414; capture of (1807), 365–466
Corbet, Thomas (Secretary of Admiralty), 113
Cork, 206, 208–9, 212, 215, 223; cove of, 223
Cornwallis, Marquis (Governor-General of India), 194, 200, 222
Cornwallis, William (Admiral), 178, 461
Corunna, 125, 173
Cox, Sir John (Captain R.N.), 14
Cracraft, W. E. (Lieut. R.N.), 164
Craig's Tower, 240, 243, 246, 252
Croft, John (Commander R.N.), 463, 466
Croker, John Wilson (Secretary of Admiralty), 289, 291, 293; memo. on salutes at sea, 294
Cuba, 64–6, 69, 71, 77–79
Curtis, Sir Roger (Admiral), 196; on right of salute, 326–9

Digitized by Google

DACRES
DACRES, J. R. (Rear-Admiral), 189
Danzig, 21
Dau (Capitaine), 88, 96, 98–100
d'Aumant, Duc, 305
Davison, Alexander, 179
Deal, 166, 429
de Grey, Thomas, 124, 139; letter from Benjamin Thompson, 132
Delft, 16
Denmark, King of, 302
Deptford ketch, 35
De Ruyter, M. A. (Admiral), 9–11, 13, 32, 42
Desirée, Petet, 174, 189
D'Heguerty, M., 89, 90, 92–4
Diamond Rock, 184
Dickenson, W., 238
Dieppe, 39, 42
Disbrough, C., 336
Dodman, 145
Domett, Sir Wm. (Vice-Admiral), 326, 329
Donnelly, Ross (Captain R.N.), 227–8, 253, 255, 257
D'Orvilliers, Comte (Vice-Admiral), 149
Douglas, Sir Charles (Captain R.N.), 123
Dover, 72, 166
Downman, Hugh (Captain R.N.), 202, 230, 242–4, 284–5
Downs, 38–9, 46, 114, 302, 308, 372
Drake's Island, 114
Duckworth, Sir J. T. (Rear-Admiral), 201
Dudley, Sir Henry (Vice-Admiral), 301
Du Guay-Trouin, René, 95
Dundas, Francis (Lieut.-General), 195–6
Dundas, Henry, 194
Dungeness, 36–8, 41
Dunkirk, 16, 46, 73, 93
Dunwich, 25

FINISTERRE
Durbé, Claude (Capitaine), 86–8, 90, 92, 97–102, 117, 119
Dutch fleet, actions with, 5–46; ships burnt in the Vlie, 19
Du Teillay, M., 89

EAST INDIES, 173, 194, 202, 238, 279, 309
Edgcumbe, J. (Captain R.N.), 188
Edmeads (Captain E.I.C.), 250
Edmonds, J. (Commander R.N.), 231
Egypt, 176
Ellenborough, Lord (L.C.J.), 290
Elsinburgh, 439–40
Elsineur, 376–7, 379, 383, 401, 438–9
Elsineur Castle, 377, 379–81, 383, 425, 434
Elsineur Church, 378
England, 62, 64, 66, 68, 72–5, 79, 81, 125, 190, 229, 258, 262, 297, 306, 310, 313, 323, 333, 335–6, 350, 354, 361–2, 379–80, 384, 389, 414, 417, 423–6, 442, 444, 446, 452–3, 457–8, 460
Eton, 433
Evertsen, Johan (Admiral), 15

FAIRLEY (Fairlight), 303
Falkland's Isles, 344
Falmouth, 208
False Bay, 282, 284
False Cape, 229
Fayal, 212
Ferguson, R. C. (Brig.-General), 231, 241–2, 249–51, 253, 259
Ferrol, 173–5, 179, 181, 187
Finch, Hon. S. (Lieut. R.N.), 131
Finisterre, Cape, 125, 135, 137, 298–300, 302–3, 306–7, 310, 323

Digitized by Google

FIRESHIP
Fireship, journal of surgeon in Copenhagen Expedition, 369
Fireships, in naval actions, 25
Flag, right of the, 289
Flanders, 63
Flanders coast, 29–30, 43, 46
Flushing, 13
Forbes, Robert (Bishop), 87, 89, 99–101
Forrest, Thomas (Captain R.N.), 367
France, 118, 180, 193, 229, 260, 290, 296, 303, 305–6, 310–1, 313; memorandum in the land and sea forces of, 1738, 51–81; combined French and Spanish fleet in channel, 1779, 125–53; fleet action of 1st June, 1794, 159–69
Fremantle, T. F. (Captain R.N.), 180
French ships attacked in 1666, 36–43
Frere, John Hookham, 175
Frio, Cape, 269
Funchal Roads, 223–4, 227
Funnel (voice pipe), 161
Furneaux, T. (Captain R.N.), 351, 355

GABBART, 31
Gabon, 271
Galleons Reach, 346
Galleys proposed in America, 70
Galleys for English coasts, 71
Galloper, 7, 30
Gambier, Lord (Admiral), 182, 238; on right of salute, 326, 329; at Copenhagen, 378–9, 383–4, 387, 389, 393, 395, 399, 412–3, 423, 435
Ganteaume, Honoré, Comte (Vice-Admiral), 178
Gardner, Lord (Admiral), 181–2
George III, 195

HARDINGE
Georgia, 51
Germain, Lord George (Secretary of State): letters from Benjamin Thompson, 123–54
German legion at Copenhagen (1807), 385
Gibraltar, 179, 200, 205, 333
Gillande, Mr., 266
Goeree, 14–5
Gold Coast, 270–1
Goodwins, 38
Gosport, 371
Gottenburgh, 452–3, 458
Graham (Lieut.), 250
Granada, 187–8
Grand Pré, M. de, 269
Green, Charles, 343–4
Green Point, 240, 261, 280
Greenwich Observatory, 341, 344
Grenville, Thomas, 194
Griffiths, ——, 450
Gros Islet, Le, 188
Guadalupe, 94, 188
Guernsey, 35, 150, 463
Guienne, 311
Guinea, 21
Guinea, coast of, 270–1
Gunfleet, 5, 6
Gunnery, experiments in Channel Fleet, 1779, 123
Guy, T. (Captain R.N.), 18
Gyldenlove, Count U. C., 436

HADDOCK, R. (Captain R.N.), 18
Hague, 15
Hall (Captain), 227
Hamburg, 15–6
Hamilton, John (Captain R.N.), 114
Hamilton, W. R., 293
Hamoaze, 113, 307
Harding (Captain), 250
Hardinge (Captain), 244

Digitized by Google

HARDY
Hardy, Admiral Sir Charles, his command of the Channel Fleet in 1779, 123–54; character of, 143
Hardy, Mr. (son of Sir Charles Hardy), 131
Hardy, Mr., 371
Hartsinck (Admiral), 218
Harvey, Henry (Captain R.N.), 162, 168
Harvey, John (Captain R.N.), 159–60, 163, 166
Harwich, 44
Haslar Hospital, 370–2, 462
Havanna, 187
Havre de Grace, 58
Haward (Captain), 336
Hawke, Sir Edward (Admiral), 346, 350
Hawkesbury, Lord (Secretary of State), 290
Héau, *vide* Dau
Herrick, Wm. Henry (Lieut. R.N.), 232
Hervey, Hon. A. J. (Captain R.N.), 356
Hilsea, 161, 165
Hinchingbrooke, 333, 337
Hispaniola, 64, 69, 71, 77, 79
Hobart, Lord (Secretary for War and Colonies), 194–6
Holland (Seven Provinces), 10, 14, 15, 17, 25–8, 117, 195, 252, 262, 290, 296–7, 311
Hollwall, J. (Captain R.N.), 308–9
Holmes, John (Captain R.N.), 18
Holmes, Sir Robert (Rear-Admiral), 12, 18, 19, 21–4, 45, 302
Honduras, 65
Honyman, R. (Captain R.N.), 234, 236–7, 240
Hood, Sir Samuel (Commodore), 147, 379, 415, 417, 435
Horn, Cape, 344, 349
Hout Bay, 198
KNOKKE
Howard, Sir Philip, 18, 23
Howe, Earl (Admiral of the Fleet), 160, 166
Hudson's Bay, 359
Humboldt, 322

INDIA, 193–4, 197, 207, 209, 211–3, 219–20, 222, 229, 282
India Arms P. H., 371
Ireland, 69, 86, 118, 175

JAMAICA, 51, 65–6, 70, 78–9, 183, 188–9, 201, 337
James I, 302
James II, 311
Janssens (Governor of the Cape of Good Hope), 199–200, 243, 262–3, 267, 276
Jennings, Sir Wm. (Captain R.N.), 16–8, 22
Jersey, 115, 150
Jeswunt, Rao Holkar, 220
Johnstone, Geo. (Commodore), 140
Jordan, Sir Joseph (Rear-Admiral), 9, 11

KAMTSCHATKA, 360
Kane, Edward, 114
Keats, Sir R. G. (Rear-Admiral), 177, 442
Kemble, W. G. (Lieut. R.N.), 157
Kempenfelt, Richard (Captain R.N.), 124, 128–31, 144
Kempt, F. (Captain R.N.), 188
Kent, 166
Keppel, Hon. Augustus (Admiral), 123
King, Wm. (Commander R.N.), 231–2, 241, 250, 275
King George's Island, 343–5
Kinlochmoidart, 87
Knokke, Fort, 200, 248, 252

Digitized by Google

LABRADOR
Labrador, Gomez (Chevalier), 317, 322
La Garde, Baron de, 301
Lagos Bay, 338
Lagullas, 229, 279
La Hogue, 73
La Roche, de (Capitaine), 39–41, 43, 46
Laroche, Christopher (Captain R.N.), 372
La Touche-Tréville, Comte de (Admiral), 180
Latour du Pin, 322
Lazar, Fort, 115
Leeward Islands, 79, 371
Leghorn, 305
Leissègues (Vice-Admiral), 200–201, 273, 276, 281
Levant, 61
Linois, Comte de (Vice-Admiral), 200–1, 260, 262–6, 271, 276, 284; captured letters of, 265
Lion's Rump, 272
Lisbon, 41, 104, 190, 233, 433
Lisburne, Viscount, 356
Liverpool, 260
Liverpool, Earl of, 295
Lizard, 101–2, 113–4, 125, 150–52
Lloyd, John (Clerk of Checque), 139
Lloyd, Sir Nath., 299
Lloyd (Captain R.N.), 309
Lloyd's Patriotic Fund, 450
Loango, 200, 260, 268–9
Lochiel, 87
Lochinnest, 91
Loch nan Uamh, 85
L'Onde (Ensigne de vaisseau), 268
London, 3, 27, 34, 47, 87, 89, 146, 173, 193, 291; Port of, 52; St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 370–1, 393; St. Bride's, 377, 431
Long Sands Head, 45
Lopez Gonsalvo, Cape, 269
MISSIESSY
Loraine, Duchy of, 61, 62
Losack, G. (Captain R.N.), 230
Losperd's Bay, 199, 240
Louis XIV, 296–7, 303, 309, 311
Louis, Thos. (Rear-Admiral), 177–8
Lowenheilm, Count, 322
Lowestoft, 361, 374
Lowestoft Head, 29
Lydd, 36

Macbride, J. (Captain R.N.), 123, 151
MacDonald, Aeneas, 87–8, 90, 92–4, 97–8, 100–2, 115–6
Madeira, 197–8, 201, 206–9, 213–4, 217, 224, 232–3, 344, 351, 357
Madras, 262, 264
Malta, 179
Mangeaux (Admiral), 260
Manœuvres at sea in 1779, 127–30
Marine Society, 447
Marseilles, 59, 60
Martin, Geo. (Rear-Admiral), 177–8
Martin, T. B. (Captain R.N.), 367
Martinique, 94, 174, 183, 187
Maryland, 70, 78
Massarida, Cape, 255
Mauritius (Isle of France), 194, 256, 260, 264, 267–8, 281–3, 358
Mayombra, 269
Meadows, Sir Philip, 299
Mediterranean, 51, 71, 73, 174–6, 179–82, 190, 206, 209, 302, 333, 450
Merry, Antony (Ambassador), 432–5, 460
Middle Grounds, 45
Mindin, 91, 102
Mingay, W. J. (Lieut. R.N.), 250
Missiessy (Vice-Admiral), 174

Digitized by Google

Mississippi, 77
Molkt, Count, 124, 140, 144
Mona Passage, 187
Montserrat, 70
Morea, 176
Moring (Captain E.I.C.), 244
Morlaix, 152
Mostyn, Sir Thomas, 3
Mountagu, Edward (Earl of Sandwich), letters from Blake, 333–8
Mount, Cape, 254
Mulgrave, Earl of, 35
Murphy, Mr., 378, 383
Murray, G. (Rear-Admiral), 177, 178, 180
Muscle Bay, 261
Myers, Sir William (Lieut.-General), 184

NANTES, 86–91, 94, 98
Naples, 63, 179
Napoleon Bonaparte, 175, 195, 421
Narrow Sea, 72; salutes in, 289
Nase, 297, 299
Negro, Cape, 260, 268
Nelson, Viscount (Vice-Admiral), 173, 377, 382, 395, 400, 413, 415, 439; letter to Sir Edward Pellew, 175; to Rear-Admiral Alexander Cochrane, 177–80, 182–5, 188–90; Admiralty Orders, 181; pursuit of combined fleet, 182–90; observations by Admiral Cochrane, 187; general order, 188; Cape of Good Hope, 193, 197
Nepean, Sir Evan, 137, 182
Nevis, 70
New Albion, 358–9
Newcastle, Duke of, 307–8
New England, 70, 78–9
Newfoundland, 61, 77
Newgate, 411
New Spain, 65–7, 71–2, 76, 78
New York, 70, 78
New Zealand, 347, 349, 358
Nicollière-Terjeiro, 87–90, 98, 100, 115
Nore, 45, 372, 374; buoy in the, 5, 42, 45–6
Nore, Little, 462
Norfolk, 432
Normandy, 152, 311
North Foreland, 44
North Sea, 304
Norway, 298, 323

OEIRAS BAY, 333, 336
Operations at sea in 1666, 1–47
Oporto, 233
Orfordness, 462
Orkney Islands, 144
Osborn, Peter, 124, 140, 143
Ostend, 29
Otaheite, 358
Owens, O. (Master R.N.), 466

PACIFIC, 357, 361
Paget, Hon. C. (Captain R.N.), 378
Palmella, 322
Palliser, Sir H. (Rear-Admiral), 363–4
Palmer, John, 248
Papendorp, 248
Parker, F. (Commander R.N.), 435
Parker, F. (Master's Mate), 232
Parker, Sir Hyde (Admiral), 460
Parker, Hyde (Captain R.N.), 372–466
Parker, Peter (Captain R.N.), 367
Parkes, Mr., 422
Pasley, T. (Rear-Admiral), 159
Patton, Philip (Vice-Admiral), 182, 216

Digitized by Google

PEARCE

Pearce (Lieut. R.N.), 250
Pellew, Sir Edward (Rear-Admiral), 173, 264, 273, 282; letter from Nelson, 175
Pennsylvania, 70, 78
Percy, Hon. Joscelin (Captain R.N.), 244, 272
Peters, ——, 376, 385, 437, 450
Petropavlovsk, 360
Philip of Spain, 301–2
Phipps, Hon. Augustus, 435
Pigot, —— (Lieut. R.N.), 250
Pitt, William, 54, 173, 194, 196
Plymouth, 118, 125–6, 132–3, 137–9, 141, 144, 159, 205, 313, 363, 370, 380, 432
Plymouth Sound, 110, 113, 135, 307, 333, 344
Pocock, Nicholas, 157
Pole, The Hon. W. Wellesley, 433
Ponseau Souze Prego, Henrique de, 235
Popham, Sir Home (Commodore), his character, 202; capture of Cape of Good Hope, 196–285; at Copenhagen, 377, 392, 401, 406, 413, 423; makes himself Commodore 1st class, 230, 285
Port Egmont, 344
Portland, 42, 150
Port Louis, 281
Porto Praya, 215
Porto Rico, 69, 71, 77, 79
Port Royal Harbour, 344
Portsmouth, 35, 41, 45, 138, 143, 146, 148, 205, 300–1, 372, 432
Portsmouth Harbour, 34, 42, 314, 370
Portugal, 40, 125
Pownoll, P. (Captain R.N.), 151
Prince, Isle du, 265, 267, 270–1
Privateers, 80, 152
Prophalow, H. C. von (Lieut.-Colonel), 245–6, 248, 252–3

ST. JAGO

RADWAY, 367, 383, 429, 441, 465
Ramehead, 113–4, 126
Ray, James, 96
Raynor, J. (Captain R.N.), 148
Reynolds, Francis (Captain R.N.), 151
Rhode Island, 70
Riet Valley, 199, 243
Rio de Janeiro, 229, 232–3, 258, 281, 284
Rio de la Plata, 283
River Plate, 202
Robben Island, 240, 259, 263
Roccas, 234
Rochelle, 16, 28, 35, 58
Rochefort, 183, 210
Rondebosch, 196
Ross, Daniel (Lieut. R.N.), 232
Ross, Sir John L. (Rear-Admiral), 129, 140, 150–1
Rotterdam, 16
Rouen, 35
Rowe, Sir John, 27
Rowley, Josias (Captain R.N.), 233–4, 242, 244
Rufane, Henry (Captain R.M.), 114–5
Rupert, Prince (Admiral), 3, 5, 9, 27
Russia, 21, 311, 317
Russian fleet in Mediterranean, 176
Rutlets, Walter, 93–4
Ryswick, Treaty of, 297, 304, 310

ST. AUGUSTINE, 64–6, 70
St. Catherine Island, 284
St. Christophers, 70
St. Domingo, 187, 189, 338
St. Helena, 201, 209, 212, 215–7, 220, 228–9, 258, 264, 267–8, 277, 280
St. Helen's, 35, 41–2, 103, 125
St. Helen's Point, 34
St. Jago, 216

Digitized by Google

ST. JOHN'S

St. John's, 190
St. John's Bay, 32, 35
St. Juan de puerto Rico, 187
St. Malo, 58, 86
St. Nazaire, 85, 92, 102
St. Salvador, 197–8, 232, 234, 236, 238, 240, 258
St. Thomas's, 188, 260
St. Valery, 37
St. Vincent, Cape, 182, 190
St. Vincent Island, 188
Saldanha Bay, 198, 241, 278
Salt Pan, 243
Salutes in the narrow seas, 289
Sandwich, 165–6
Sandwich, Earl of (First Lord of Admiralty), 138, 148, 351, 356–7, 363–4
Santa Cruz, 187–8, 333
Scaw, The, 437, 439, 441–2, 444, 452, 455, 458–60, 462–3
Scaw Town, 451
Schelling, Island of, 18, 19, 21
Scheveningen, 15
Schouwen, 15
Scilly Island, 125–6, 131, 144, 150–2, 299
Scindea, 220
Scotland, 69, 86, 118
Scott, John, 174, 185
Scott, Sir Wm. (Lord Stowell), 291
Scott, Mr., 370–1
Seaforth, Lord, 183
Searching English ships in W. Indies, 66
Setford, James (Lieut. R.N.), 381–2, 416, 420, 437, 449, 455, 457, 464, 466
Sheerness, 301, 373–4, 463, 465–6
Ships named :
Achille (Fr.), 161, 168
Acute, H.M.S., 376
Adamant, H.M.S., 238
Adventure, H.M.S., 40, 351, 355
Africane, H.M.S., 376

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Agamemnon, H.M.S., 376, 392
Agnes (E.I.C.), 226
Ajax, H.M.S., 148
Alacrity, H.M.S., 376, 443, 456
Albion (E.I.C.), 226
Alcyon, H.M.S., 376
Alert, H.M.S., 376
Alert (Da.), 424
Alexandre (Fr.), 273
Alfred, H.M.S., 159, 376
Amazone (Du.), 95
Amity, H.M.S., 44
Amphitrite (E.I.C.), 226
Anacreon (E.I.C.), 226
Anne (E.I.C.), 226
Antelope, H.M.S., 30, 37, 39, 43
Apollo, H.M.S., 151–2
Apollon (Fr.), 93–4
Ardent, H.M.S., 125, 153
Ariadne, H.M.S., 426
Arran, H.M.S., 376
Arrogant, H.M.S., 148
Assistance, H.M.S., 25, 40, 305
Assurance, H.M.S., 27
Astrea, H.M.S., 376, 416, 418
Atalante (Fr.), 247, 256
Atlas (E.I.C.), 226
Atlas (Span.), 176
Audacious, H.M.S., 159
Augusta, H.M.S., 113–4
Banterer, H.M.S., 376
Barfleur, H.M.S., 149
Basilisk, H.M.S., 376
Bato (Du.), 218, 223, 244, 266
Belle (packet), 219, 238
Belle Poule (Fr.), 201, 260, 263, 267–8, 272
Bellerophon, H.M.S., 159, 367
Bellette, H.M.S., 376
Belliqueux, H.M.S., 206, 208, 211, 214–5, 224, 227, 241, 250, 260–2

Digitized by Google

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Bellisle, H.M.S., 186
Bellona (E.I.C.), 226, 395
Bellone (Fr.), 257
Berwick, H.M.S., 133, 140, 176
Bienfaisant, H.M.S., 144, 151–2
Blenheim, H.M.S., 144, 148
Bonetta, H.M.S., 376
Bourbon (Fr.), 41
Brave (Fr.), 273
Breda, H.M.S., 26
Bristol, H.M.S., 16
Britannia (E.I.C.), 225, 234, 236, 245
Brunswick, H.M.S., 375; engagement with Le Vengeur, 154–60
Bucentaur, H.M.S., 176
Calcutta, H.M.S., 217
Cambrian, H.M.S., 376, 385
Cambridge, H.M.S., 25
Canopus, H.M.S., 186
Captain, H.M.S., 376
Cassard (Fr.), 274
Centaur, H.M.S., 376, 434
Charles, H.M.S., 302
Charles (galley), H.M.S., 303
Charles the Merchant (hired ship), 31, 34–5
Charlotte (E.I.C.), 226
Chichester (storeship), 225
Christian 7th (Da.), 424
Colchester, H.M.S., 27, 30
Columbus (Guinea ship), 254–5
Comet (E.I.C.), 225, 244
Combatant, H.M.S., 376
Comus, H.M.S., 376, 382, 388
Concord, H.M.S., 196
Conqueror, H.M.S., 186
Conqueror (Da.), 424
Cormorant, H.M. sloop, 140
Cornète (Fr.), 273
Cossack, H.M.S., 376
Courier (Da.), 424
Crown, H.M.S., 27

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Crown Prince Frederik (Da.), 424
Crown Princess Maria (Da.), 424
Cruizer, H.M.S., 376
Culloden, H.M.S., 159
Cumberland, H.M.S., 126
Curlew, H.M.S., 435–6
Cyane, H.M.S., 376
Daphne (Da.), 424
Dart (storeship), 225
Defence, H.M.S., 375, 382
Defiance, H.M.S., 34
Denmark (Da.), 424
Desperate, H.M.S., 376
Diadem, H.M.S., 200, 202, 205, 208, 217, 220, 225, 227, 230–2, 236, 238, 240, 243–4, 250–1, 253, 257–63, 271–3, 276, 278, 280, 283–5
Diamond, H.M.S., 36, 37
Diana (E.I.C.), 223–4
Dictator, H.M.S., 375
Diligent (Fr.), 273
Diomede, H.M.S., 200, 202, 205, 207–8, 214, 220, 223–4, 227, 231–2, 241, 261–2, 272, 276, 284–5
Diomède (Fr.), 273
Discovery, H.M.S., 357, 363–4
Dithmarschen (Da.), 424
Dolphin, H.M.S., 343, 345, 347, 351
Dolphin, H.M. storeship, 225
Donegal, H.M.S., 186
Dragon, H.M.S., 17–9
Dryade (Fr.), 91
Du Teillay (Fr.), 85–9, 91–4, 98–101, 117, 118
Edgar, H.M.S., 148
Eideren (Da.), 424
Elbe (Da.), 424
Elisabeth (Fr.), action with H.M.S. Lyon, 1745, 85–119
Elizabeth (E.I.C.), 226
Elisha Tupper (E.I.C.), 226

Digitized by Google

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Encounter, H.M.S., 214, 225, 227, 241–3
Endeavour, H.M.S., 343, 346–7, 350
Entrance (Br.), 336
Eole (Fr.), 274
Espoir, L', H.M.S., 214, 225, 227, 231–3, 240–1, 250, 284
Euphrates (E.I.C.), 225, 264
Europe (E.I.C.), 225
Fairfax, H.M.S., 10
Falsette (Br.), 244
Fame (E.I.C.), 226
Fanfare, H.M. yacht, 9, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 45
Fauvette (Fr.), 91
Fearless, H.M.S., 376
Félicité (Fr.), 273
Fidèle (Fr.), 300
Fisgard, H.M.S., 179
Flamer, H.M.S., 376
Flying Fish (Da.), 424
Foresight, H.M.S., 40
Formidable, H.M.S., 141
Formidable (Fr.), 176
Forrester, H.M.S., 440
Forward, H.M.S., 376
Foudroyant, H.M.S., 134
Foudroyant (Fr.), 274
Fountain (Algerian prize), 28, 37
Franchise, H.M.S., 376
Francis and Eliza (E.I.C.), 226
Frederigstagn (Da.), 424
Fury, H.M.S., 376
Fyen (Da.), 424
Fylla (Da.), 424
Gallant, H.M.S., 376
Ganges, H.M.S., 375
George, H.M.S., 34, 333, 337–8
Gibraltar, H.M.S., 179
Glommen (Da.), 424
Glory (E.I.C.), 225
Glykstad (Da.), 424
Golden Grove (E.I.C.), 226

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Goliath, H.M.S., 376, 380, 390, 413, 435
Goshawk, H.M.S., 376, 443–4
Gosport, H.M.S., 307
Hampshire, H.M.S., 18, 19
Hannibal, H.M.S., 176
Happy Return, H.M.S., 34
Harbinger (E.I.C.), 226
Harlekin (E.I.C.), 226
Harriott (E.I.C.), 226
Havfrue (Da.), 424
Hawke, H.M.S., 309
Hebe, H.M.S., 309
Heir Apparent Frederik (Da.), 424
Henrietta, H.M.S., 25, 26
Hercule, H.M.S., 375, 421
Hercules (Du.), 431
Hero, H.M.S., 367, 370, 374, 378, 444
Heron, H.M.S., 188
Hope, H.M.S., 336
Howe (storeship), 285
Horatio Nelson (Br.), 254–5
Hussar, H.M.S., 376, 439
Illustrious, H.M.S., 174
Imogene, H.M.S., 195
Impérial (Fr.), 273
Impétueux (Fr.), 274
Implacable, H.M.S., 367
Indefatigable (Br.), 224, 226
Indignant, H.M.S., 376
Indomptable, H.M.S., 176
Intelligent, H.M.S., 376
Intrépid (Fr.), 176
Invincible, H.M.S., 159
Iris, H.M.S., 367
Iris (Da.), 424
Isis, H.M.S., 148
Jack (E.I.C.), 224, 226, 279
Jacobin (Fr.), 160, 166–7
James, H.M.S., 27
Jane Duchess of Gord (E.I.C.), 225, 244
Jason, H.M.S., 184
Jersey, H.M.S., 7, 30, 37
Juno (E.I.C.), 226

Digitized by Google

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Jupiter, H.M.S., 151–2, 218, 231
Jupiter (Fr.), 273
Justice (Da.), 424
Katherine (pleasure boat), 36
Kent, H.M.S., 179
King George (E.I.C.), 226, 234, 236
Kite, H.M. cutter, 152
Land of Promise (fireship), 13
Leda, H.M.S., 200, 206, 208, 214, 223–4, 227, 232–4, 236–7, 240, 243, 258, 264, 272, 276, 280, 376
Levant, H.M.S., 138, 140
Leveret, H.M.S., 376
Leviathan, H.M.S., 159, 178, 186
Liberty (Da.), 424
Lightning, H.M.S., 376, 380, 405
Lion, H.M.S., 10, 16
Lily, H.M.S., 25
Little Belt (Da.), 424
Little Mary, H.M.S., 7, 8, 15, 16, 26, 28, 29, 30
Lyon, H.M.S., action with the Elizabeth, 1745, 85–119
Maida, H.M.S., 375, 408
Maidstone, H.M.S., 179
Majestic (E.I.C.), 226
Malabar (storeship), 225
Marengo (Fr.), 201, 260, 263, 265, 267, 272
Maria (E.I.C.), 225
Marigold (Br.), 336
Mariner, H.M.S., 376
Marlborough, H.M.S., 125
Marmaduke (Br.), 34
Mars, H.M.S., 375, 404
Mars (Da.), 420–1, 424
Martha, H.M.S., 25
Martin, H.M.S., 184
Mary, H.M.S., 34
Melpomene, H.M.S., 367
Mercurius (Da.), 424

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Mermaid, H.M.S., 36
Messenger (E.I.C.), 226
Milantho (E.I.C.), 226
Milford, H.M.S., 132, 152
Minotaur, H.M.S., 375
Montagne (Fr.), 160, 166–7
Montagu, H.M.S., 159
Mont Blanc (Fr.), 176
Musquito, H.M.S., 376
Mynx, H.M.S., 376
Naiad, H.M.S., 180
Naiade (Fr.), 103
Namur, H.M.S., 465
Nantwich, H.M.S., 336
Napoleon (Fr.), 247
Narcissus, H.M.S., 179, 198–200, 206–8, 214, 223–4, 227–9, 254–5, 261–2, 272, 276
Naseby, H.M.S., 333
Nassau, H.M.S., 376
Neptune, H.M.S., 176
Neptunus (Da.), 424, 440
Nidelven (Da.), 424
Norge (Da.), 424
Northampton (E.I.C.), 225
Northumberland (E.I.C.), 225, 264
Northumberland, H.M.S., 184–7, 189
Nymphe, H.M.S., 376
Ocean (E.I.C.), 149, 224, 226
Oden (Da.), 424
Orange, H.M.S., 36, 42, 45
Orestes, H.M.S., 376
Orion, H.M.S., 375, 464
Pandora, H.M.S., 376
Paradox, H.M.S., 35
Paragon (E.I.C.), 226
Patrick, H.M.S., 27
Patriote (Fr.), 160, 167, 274
Pearl (Da.), 424
Peggy, H.M. cutter, 129–32
Pelletier (Fr.), 160, 166
Pembroke, H.M.S., 16–9, 21
Piedmonties (Fr.), 264
Pincher, H.M.S., 376

Digitized by Google

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Pompée, H.M.S., 375, 415
Pomponne (Fr.), 300
Porpoise (storeship), 238
Princess, H.M.S., 39–40
Princess Carolina (Da.), 424
Princess Caroline, H.M.S., 367
Princess Sophia Frederica (Da.), 424
Prince of Wales, H.M.S., 376, 378–80, 383, 413–4, 423, 435
Procris, H.M.S., 376
Prometheus, H.M.S., 367–466 *passim*
Prometheus, Young, 393, 398, 413
Protector, H.M. brig, 225, 227, 243
Providence (Br.), 336
Prudent (Fr.), 255
Queen Charlotte, H.M.S., 159–60, 166–7, 169
Railleur, H.M.S., 376, 435
Rainbow, H.M.S., 46
Raisonable, H.M.S., 200, 207–8, 214–6, 220, 225, 227, 235, 241, 261–2, 264, 272, 276–7, 284
Ramillies, H.M.S., 162, 168–69, 174
Renown, H.M.S., 179
Resolution, H.M.S., 12, 351, 355, 357, 363–4, 375
Resource (Guineaman), 200, 260, 266, 268
Revolutionnaire (Fr.), 159
Richmond, H.M.S., 25, 376
Ringdove, H.M.S., 436
Roe (Rowe) (ketch), 8, 28, 29, 30, 35, 43
Rollo (Br. privateer), 200, 263, 265–6, 268, 282
Romney, H.M.S., 140
Rosamund, H.M.S., 376
Rota (Da.), 424
Royal Charles, H.M.S., 3, 14, 27, 32–5, 47

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Royal George, H.M.S., 129
Royal James, H.M.S., 3, 14, 25
Royal Sovereign, H.M.S., 14
Royal William, H.M.S., 370–71
Ruby, H.M.S., 30, 41, 375, 419
Ruby (Fr.), 39
Russell, H.M.S., 159
St. Andrew, H.M.S., 34
St. Raphiel, 187
St. Thomas (Da.), 420, 424
Safeguard, H.M.S., 376, 381
Sandwich, H.M.S., 149
Sappho, H.M.S., 376
Sarah (E.I.C.), 226
Sarah Christiana (E.I.C.), 225
Sarpen (Da.), 424
Scipion (Fr.), 176
Seahorse (E.I.C.), 226, 260
Seierherre (Da.), 424
Semilante (Fr.), 260
Sicily, H.M.S., 376
Simpson (E.I.C.), 226
Sir John B. Warren (E.I.C.), 224, 226
Sir Wm. Pulteney (E.I.C.), 225, 244
Sirius, H.M.S., 273
Skiold (Da.), 424
Slothany (Du.), 42
Snipe, H.M. gunbrig, 438
Solebay, H.M.S., 376
Southampton, H.M.S., 125
Sovereign, H.M.S., 10, 31, 42
Spartiate, H.M.S., 187
Speaker (Br.), 336
Spencer, H.M.S., 179, 186, 375, 449
Streatham (E.I.C.), 225
Stulkjobin (Du.), 436
Success, H.M.S., 44
Superb, H.M.S., 179, 186, 442
Surveillante, H.M.S., 376, 416
Sussex, H.M.S., 36–7

Digitized by Google

SHIPS

Ships named—*continued*
Swallow, H.M.S., 7, 30, 37–8, 351
Sweepstakes, H.M.S., 18, 19
Swift (cutter), 175
Swiftsure, H.M.S., 176, 186, 336–7
Sybille, H.M.S., 376, 440, 463
Tartarus, H.M.S., 376, 380
Terrible, H.M.S., 133
Three Crowns (Da.), 424
Thunder, H.M.S., 376
Tiger, H.M.S., 18, 19, 21, 36
Tigre, H.M.S., 186
Traveller (E.I.C.), 226
Tredagh (Br.), 336
Triton (Da.), 424
Triton (E.I.C.), 226
Triumph, H.M.S., 10, 179
Trusty, H.M.S., 435
Turbulent, H.M.S., 376
Tygress, H.M.S., 376
Unicorn (Br.), 338
Union (E.I.C.), 225–6
Uranie, H.M.S., 372
Urgent, H.M.S., 376
Valeureuse (Fr.), 274
Valiant, H.M.S., 375, 417–8
Valorous, H.M.S., 376
Vanguard, H.M.S., 34, 375, 456
Varunna (E.I.C.), 225
Vengeur (Fr.), engagement with Brunswick, 154–69
Venus (Da.), 424
Vesuvius, H.M.S., 376, 407
Vétéran (Fr.), 274–5
Victory, H.M.S., 123–4, 127, 129–30, 132, 136–7, 140–3, 147, 175, 177, 179, 182–4, 186–90
Volontaire (Fr.), 200, 272–8, 283
Waldemar (Da.), 424
Walker (E.I.C.), 226
Wanderer, H.M.S., 376
Warspite, H.M.S., 11
Westfriesland (Du.), 7

SPLICING

Ships named—*continued*
Wilding (E.I.C.), 226
Wilhelmina (Du.), 217
William (E.I.C.), 223–4, 226
William Pitt (E.I.C.), 224–5, 250
William Pitt (Botany Bay ship), 225
Whitby (E.I.C.), 226, 264
Willington (E.I.C.), 226
Wolf, H.M. sloop, 132
Zebra, H.M.S., 376
Zephyr (E.I.C.), 226
Ships, state of Blake's, 337
Shoe beacon, 46
Shuldham, Lord (Vice-Admiral), 137, 139
Sicily, 63
Signals, 5, 28, 30, 33–5, 127–30, 146
Silver (Captain), 18
Simons Bay, 218, 244, 256, 266
Smith, Sir Jeremiah (Admiral), 9
Smith, —— (Lieut. R.N.), 307–8
Smyth (Captain R.E.), 241
Snipe, J. (Physician to the Fleet), 180
Solebay, 25, 28–9, 30, 461
Soundings, The, 95
Southern continent, search for, 347, 352, 354
South Pole, 351, 353
Spain, 51, 63, 67–9, 72, 74–5, 78, 81, 125, 180, 229, 290, 302, 311; forces of, in 1738, 64; reasons for war with, 68; combined fleet in 1779, 125–53
Spelman, Sir H., 295
Spencer, Lord Charles, 346, 350, 363–4
Spencer, —— (Lieut. R.N.), 166
Spithead, 126, 137–8, 152, 154, 197, 215, 354, 361, 370
Splicing the mainbrace, 451–2

Digitized by Google

STACKELBERG

Stackelberg, 322
Stanhope, Hon. F. H. R. (Captain), 374, 415, 423, 425
Stanislaus, King, 62
Start Point, 141, 150, 152
Stayner, R. (Rear-Admiral), 333
Stephens, Sir Philip, 238
Stewart, Hon. Keith (Captain R.N.), 123, 132, 136; 139, 141
Stewart, —— (Master R.N.), 164
Stopford, Hon. R. (Captain R.N.), 378
Stopford (Colonel), 379
Strachan, Sir Richard (Rear-Admiral), 180, 444
Straits (of Gibraltar), 21, 42, 46, 181
Suffolk, 432
Sutherland (Lieut. R.N.), 250
Sutton, John (Rear-Admiral), 177–8
Swale, 27, 34
Sweden, King of, 439–40
Swin, 302, 462
Symonds (Master's Mate R.N.), 419

TABLE BAY, 198, 200, 229, 240, 248, 250, 253, 255–9, 262–4, 271, 273, 278, 280, 283
Tagus, 333
Tasman, 347
Teddeman, Sir Thomas (Vice-Admiral), 9
Temple, Earl, 195
Temple, Sir William, 296–7, 299
Tencin, de (Cardinal), 95
Teneriffe, 275, 333
Tetuan, 338
Texel, 15, 17
Thames River, 16, 73, 299, 302
Thompson, Benjamin, letters to Lord George Germain, 123–54; letter to Thos. de Grey, 132

WALLIS

Thomson (Lieut. R.N.), 257
Tobacco, 338
Tobin, George (Captain R.N.), 189
Torbay, 125, 141
Torbola, 188
Tonningen, 280
Toulon, 175–6, 180–2, 305, 313; arsenal, 58
Trade in war with Spain, 1738, 76
Tranquebar, 283
Trémoïlle, Duc de la, 86–7, 94
Trinidad, 229
Trinity House, 439, 443
Troubridge, Sir Thomas (Rear-Admiral), 202
Tromp, M. H. (Admiral), 28
Trotter, W. R. (Major), 249
Truites, Ja., 248
Tweeddale, Marquis of, 91, 118

USHANT, 36, 125, 131, 151–2, 181–2, 200
Utrecht, 304, 310

VAN GENT, William Joseph (Colonel), 11
Van Staten, 298, 323
Venus, transit of, 343
Verd, Cape de, 357
Vermat (Ensigne de vaisseau), 265, 268
Vienna (Conference), 289, 291, 293, 312–3, 316, 323
Villeneuve, P. C. J. B. S. (Vice-Admiral), 174
Vincent, M., 94
Virginia, 70, 78
Vlie, The, 18–21, 117

WALLIS, JAS. (Captain R.N.), 180
Wallis, S. (Captain R.N.), 343, 345, 347, 351

Digitized by Google

WALSH

Walsh, Anthony, 86, 89–96, 98
War, theory of British, 53
Warren, Sir John B. (Vice-Admiral), 201
Warren, Samuel (Captain R.N.), 367
Webster, Professor, 289
Wedel, Count, 124, 144
Wellesley, Sir Arthur (Major-General), 374, 378–80, 383, 393, 401, 423, 425, 427–9
Wells, Thomas (Rear-Admiral), 462
Wessenberg, 322
West Indian Seas, 71
West Indies, 21, 61, 63–4, 67–70, 75, 76, 78, 80, 89, 153, 174, 195, 197, 201, 209, 279, 281, 283, 370; Nelson and, 179, 182, 184
Whetstone, William (Rear-Admiral), 303
Whetworth, Charles, 303
White, John C. (Captain R.N.), 179
Whitehall, 47
Whitehaven, 96
Wielings, 28, 29

YOUNG

Wight, Isle of, 34–5, 38, 41, 302
Willaumez, J. B. P. (Vice-Amiral), 200–1, 272, 274, 276, 278–80, 282–3
Wilshire (Captain), 18
Winterton Lights, 428
Winton College, 449
Withyham, 123
Witt, M. de, 296
Woodford, J. (Lieut. R.N.), 396
Woodriff, D. (Captain R.N.), 217, 219
Woolwich, Royal Arsenal, 372

YARMOUTH, 28, 374, 428–30, 432, 435, 436; St. Nicholas Church, 431
Yarmouth Roads, 428
York, H.R.H. Duke of (Frederick Augustus), 213
York, 89
Yorke, J. H. (Brigadier-General,) 234
Young, Sir Wm. (Admiral), 326

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY

THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY was established for the purpose of printing rare or unpublished works of naval interest, thereby rendering accessible the sources of our naval history, and assisting in the elucidation of questions of naval archæology, construction, administration, organisation and social life.

Any person wishing to become a Member of the Society is requested to apply to the Secretary (W. G. Perrin, Admiralty, S.W.), who will submit his name to the Council. The Annual Subscription is One Guinea, the payment of which entitles the Member to receive one copy of each work issued by the Society for that year.

Messrs. William Clowes & Sons, Ltd., of 94 Jermyn Street, London, S.W. 1, are the sole agents for the sale of publications to NON-MEMBERS. A list of the volumes available for sale to the public, and their prices, may be obtained from them.

MEMBERS requiring copies of any volume, at the prices marked herein, should apply to the Secretary.

The stock of Vols. III., V., IX., XIV., and XXIX. is now exhausted, and that of several other volumes, notably Vols. XXII., XXIII., and XXXV., is very low. It is, therefore, no longer possible to offer complete sets to new members, and having regard to this fact, the Council have decided to offer to all members selections of 20 volumes and upwards from such of the first 56 volumes as are in print (except Vols. XXII., XXIII., and XXXV.) on the following terms :—

Any	40	or more	at 10*s.*	each
,,	30	,,	,, 10*s.* 3*d.*	,,
,,	20	,,	,, 10*s.* 6*d.*	,,

subject to the restriction that *Great Sea Fights*, Vol. I., will only be sold with Vol. II.

Digitized by Google

Some of the volumes can only be supplied 'cut'; others only 'uncut,' but the latter can be rebound 'cut,' at the expense of the purchaser. The uncut volumes are about half an inch taller than those with cut edges.

The Society has already issued :—

For 1894 : Vols. I. and II. *State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, Anno* 1588. Edited by Professor J. K. Laughton. (30s.)

For 1895 : Vol. III. *Letters of Lord Hood,* 1781–82. Edited by Mr. David Hannay. (*Out of Print.*)

Vol. IV. *Index to James's Naval History,* by Mr. C. G. Toogood. Edited by the Hon. T. A. Brassey. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. V. *Life of Captain Stephen Martin,* 1666–1740. Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham. (*Out of print.*)

For 1896 : Vol. VI. *Journal of Rear-Admiral Bartholomew James,* 1752–1828. Edited by Professor J. K. Laughton and Commander J. Y. F. Sulivan. (10s. 6*d.*)

Vol. VII. *Hollond's Discourses of the Navy,* 1638 and 1658. Edited by Mr. J. R. Tanner. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. VIII. *Naval Accounts and Inventories in the Reign of Henry VII.* Edited by Mr. M. Oppenheim. (10s. 6*d.*)

For 1897 : Vol. IX. *Journal of Sir George Rooke.* Edited by Mr. Oscar Browning. (*Out of Print.*)

Vol. X. *Letters and Papers relating to the War with France,* 1512–13. Edited by M. Alfred Spont. (10s. 6*d.*)

Vol. XI. *Papers relating to the Spanish War,* 1585–87. Edited by Mr. Julian S. Corbett. (10s. 6*d.*)

For 1898 : Vol. XII. *Journals and Letters of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Thomas Byam Martin,* 1773–1854 (Vol. II.). Edited by Admiral Sir R. Vesey Hamilton. (*See* XXIV.)

Digitized by Google

Vol. XIII. *Papers relating to the First Dutch War*, 1652–54 (Vol. I.). Edited by Dr. S. R. Gardiner. (10*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XIV. *Papers relating to the Blockade of Brest*, 1803–5 (Vol. I.). Edited by Mr. J. Leyland. (*Out of Print.*)

For 1899 : Vol. XV. *History of the Russian Fleet during the Reign of Peter the Great. By a Contemporary Englishman.* Edited by Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge. (10*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XVI. *Logs of the Great Sea Fights*, 1794–1805 (Vol. I.). Edited by Vice-Admiral Sir T. Sturges Jackson. (*See* XVIII.)

Vol. XVII. *Papers relating to the First Dutch War*, 1652–54 (Vol. II.). Edited by Dr. S. R. Gardiner. (10*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1900 : Vol. XVIII. *Logs of the Great Sea Fights* (Vol. II.). Edited by Vice-Admiral Sir T. Sturges Jackson. (*Two vols.* 25*s.*)

Vol. XIX. *Journals and Letters of Sir T. Byam Martin* (Vol. III.). Edited by Admiral Sir R. Vesey Hamilton. (*See* XXIV.)

For 1901 : Vol. XX. *The Naval Miscellany* (Vol. I.). Edited by Professor J. K. Laughton. (15*s.*)

Vol. XXI. *Papers relating to the Blockade of Brest*, 1803–5 (Vol. II.). Edited by Mr. John Leyland. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1902 : Vols. XXII. and XXIII. *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* (Vols. I. and II.). Edited by Mr. M. Oppenheim. (40*s.*)

Vol. XXIV. *Journals and Letters of Sir T. Byam Martin* (Vol. I.). Edited by Admiral Sir R. Vesey Hamilton. (*Three vols.* 31*s.* 6*d.*)

Digitized by Google

For 1903: Vol. XXV. *Nelson and the Neapolitan Jacobins.* Edited by Mr. H. C. Gutteridge. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XXVI. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval MSS. in the Pepysian Library* (Vol. I.). Edited by Mr. J. R. Tanner. (15*s.*)

For 1904: Vol. XXVII. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval MSS. in the Pepysian Library* (Vol. II.). Edited by Mr. J. R. Tanner. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XXVIII. *The Correspondence of Admiral John Markham,* 1801–7. Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1905: Vol. XXIX. *Fighting Instructions,* 1530–1816. Edited by Mr. Julian S. Corbett. (*Out of Print.*)

Vol. XXX. *Papers relating to the First Dutch War,* 1652–54 (Vol. III.). Edited by the late Dr. S. R. Gardiner and Mr. C. T. Atkinson. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1906: Vol. XXXI. *The Recollections of Commander James Anthony Gardner,* 1775–1814. Edited by Admiral Sir R. Vesey Hamilton and Professor J. K. Laughton. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XXXII. *Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham,* 1758–1813 (Vol. I.). Edited by Sir J. K. Laughton. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1907: Vol. XXXIII. *Naval Ballads and Songs.* Edited by Professor C. H. Firth. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XXXIV. *Views of the Battles of the Third Dutch War.* Edited by Mr. Julian S. Corbett. (20*s.*)

For 1908: Vol. XXXV. *Signals and Instructions,* 1776–94. Edited by Mr. Julian S. Corbett. (15*s.*)

Vol. XXXVI. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval MSS. in the Pepysian Library* (Vol. III.). Edited by Dr. J. R. Tanner. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Digitized by Google

For 1909: Vol. XXXVII. *Papers relating to the First Dutch War*, 1652–54 (Vol. IV.). Edited by Mr. C. T. Atkinson. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XXXVIII. *Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham*, 1758–1813 (Vol. II.). Edited by Sir J. K. Laughton. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1910: Vol. XXXIX. *Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham*, 1758–1813 (Vol. III.). Edited by Sir J. K. Laughton. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XL. *The Naval Miscellany* (Vol. II.). Edited by Sir J. K. Laughton. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1911: Vol. XLI. *Papers relating to the First Dutch War*, 1652–54 (Vol. V.). Edited by Mr. C. T. Atkinson. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XLII. *Papers relating to the Loss of Minorca in* 1756. Edited by Capt. H. W. Richmond, R.N. (10*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1912: Vol. XLIII. *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* (Vol. III.). Edited by Mr. M. Oppenheim. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XLIV. *The Old Scots Navy*, 1689–1710. Edited by Mr. James Grant. (10*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1913: Vol. XLV. *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* (Vol. IV.). Edited by Mr. M. Oppenheim. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XLVI. *The Private Papers of George, second Earl Spencer* (Vol. I.). Edited by Mr. Julian S. Corbett. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1914: Vol. XLVII. *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* (Vol. V.). Edited by Mr. M. Oppenheim. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Vol. XLVIII. *The Private Papers of George, second Earl Spencer* (Vol. II.). Edited by Mr. Julian S. Corbett. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Digitized by Google

For 1915: Vol. XLIX. *Documents relating to Law and Custom of the Sea* (Vol. I.). Edited by Mr. R. G. Marsden. (17*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1916: Vol. L. *Documents relating to Law and Custom of the Sea* (Vol. II.). Edited by Mr. R. G. Marsden. (15*s.*)

For 1917: Vol. LI. *Autobiography of Phineas Pett.* Edited by Mr. W. G. Perrin. (12*s.*)

For 1918: Vol. LII. *The Life of Admiral Sir John Leake.* (Vol. I.). Edited by Mr. G. A. R. Callender. (15*s.*)

For 1919: Vol. LIII. *The Life of Admiral Sir John Leake* (Vol. II.). Edited by Mr. G. A. R. Callender. (15*s.*)

For 1920: Vol. LIV. *The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring* (Vol. I.). Edited by Mr. G. E. Manwaring. (15*s.*)

For 1921: Vol. LV. *The Letters of Lord St. Vincent,* 1801–1804 (Vol. I.). Edited by Mr. D. B. Smith. (15*s.*)

Vol. LVI. *The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring* (Vol. II.). Edited by Mr. G. E. Manwaring and Mr. W. G. Perrin. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

For 1922: Vol. LVII. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval MSS. in the Pepysian Library* (Vol. IV.). Edited by Dr. J. R. Tanner. (24*s.*)

For 1923: Vol. LVIII. *The Private Papers of George, second Earl Spencer* (Vol. III.). Edited by Rear-Admiral H. W. Richmond. (16*s.*)

For 1924: Vol. LIX. *The Private Papers of George, second Earl Spencer* (Vol. IV.). Edited by Rear-Admiral H. W. Richmond. (15*s.*)

For 1925: Vol. LX. *Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes.* Edited by Dr. J. R. Tanner. (21*s.*)

Digitized by Google

For 1926: Vol. LXI. *The Letters of Lord St. Vincent,* 1801–1804 (Vol. II.). Edited by Mr. D. B. Smith. (20s.)

Vol. LXII. *Letters and Papers of Admiral Viscount Keith* (Vol. I.). Edited by Mr. W. G. Perrin. (17s.)

For 1927: Vol. LXIII. *The Naval Miscellany* (Vol. III.). Edited by Mr. W. G. Perrin. (20s.)

For 1928: Vol. LXIV. *The Journal of the Earl of Sandwich.* Edited by Mr. R. C. Anderson. (*In preparation.*)

Among other intended works are further volumes of *The Catalogue of the Pepysian MSS., The Naval Miscellany,* and the *Letters and Papers of Admiral Viscount Keith*; and the concluding volume with index (Vol. VI.) of the *Papers relating to the First Dutch War.*

Printed in England at THE BALLANTYNE PRESS
SPOTTISWOODE, BALLANTYNE & CO. LTD.
Colchester, London & Eton

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

RENEWED BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO IMMEDIATE
RECALL

UCD LIBRARY
DUE OCT 23 1969

OCT 18 REC'D

JUL 12 2005

RECEIVED

JUL 13 2005

SHIELDS LIBRARY

LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS

Book Slip–50m-12,'64(F772s4)458

Digitized by Google

340962

3 1175 02666 0582

DA70
A1
v.63

Navy Records Society,
London.
Publications.

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS

Digitized by Google